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Leaders of thought in the
English church



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LEADERS OF THOUGHT
IN THE
ENGLISH CHURCH

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BY THE VENERABLE ✓

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"THE CHURCH VISIBLE, INVISIBLE, CATHOLIC, NATIONAL," "THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND THE CANON LAW," "WORDS TO THE LAITY," ETC.

London

HODDER AND STOUGHTON

27, PATERNOSTER ROW

MDCCCXCVI

Printed by Hazell, Watson, & Viney, Ltd., London and Aylesbury.

TO
HER GRACE LOUISA
DUCHESS DOWAGER OF ABERCORN
BORN OF A HOUSE IDENTIFIED IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND
WITH THE SACRED CAUSE
OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY
IN MEMORY
OF PLEASANT DAYS AT COATES

P R E F A C E

I N offering these biographical studies to my readers, I do not suggest that there are not other leaders of thought equally suitable for delineation. But the twelve whom I have taken seem to me typical of the various aspects of the Church of England since the Reformation. I have placed Archbishop Tait among them, although he might be described as a man of action rather than of thought, because to my mind he represents that calm, comprehensive, loyal, and reasonable attitude of mind which is most genuinely characteristic of the English Church.

I have tried as far as possible to understand the point of view of each, and, where criticism could not be avoided, to touch such

points with no unfriendly hand. Biographical sketches dealing with such different elements which should pretend to agree with all of them would indeed be dull. My object has been to make as far as might be a faithful picture of the man, and to show his place in the history of the Church. When the *Dictionary of National Biography* is complete, the details of the lives of all such characters will be available. But so vast a work will be accessible only to a few. When I was beginning ministerial life in the Church, I am certain that some such collection as this would have been useful to myself; I venture to hope it may be interesting to others. "There cannot be too many biographies," says a popular American writer,* "of good men written, nor too few of bad men. In reading the life of a good man, the wish unconsciously rises to be like him, and

* C. N. Bovee.

insensibly the character is modified by it." "The biographies of great and good men," says Matthew Henry, "like Elijah's mantle, ought to be gathered and preserved by their survivors; that as their works follow them in the reward of them, they may stay behind in their benefit." There are of course excellent Memoirs to be had of all these worthies; but possibly when they are brought together in brief in one volume they throw light on each other. The general result, I think, illustrates the great width of the Church of England; which, while it is capable of exaggeration and abuse, ought always to be acknowledged and maintained.

Belonging myself to no party, but following humbly, as well as I may, in the steps of some of my characters, and, as to modern times, especially in those of Tait and Lightfoot, I hope that those who look at these pages may be led to see that the teaching of the Church of England itself, in Prayer

Book and formularies, is enough for plain Christian men, and that "movements" and "parties" on one side and on the other are sure to lead to unfortunate results. Seeing the Church of England at the present day so unhappily divided, I should indeed greatly rejoice if this series should in any way help, by God's grace, to bring us back to the wise and wholesome standpoint of Holy Scripture, the early Fathers, and the English Reformation.

WILLIAM M. SINCLAIR.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I

CRANMER, THE RESTORER OF PRIMITIVE TRUTH

	PAGE
1. Difficulties of Cranmer's position	2
2. Early youth	5
3. Marriage	6
4. Meeting with the King at Waltham	6
5. Embassy to the Emperor ; and appointment to Canterbury	7
6. The Queen's divorce	9
7. Great influence	10
8. <i>The Institution of a Christian Man</i>	12
9. Disappointments	12
10. Countermines	13
11. Conspiracy	14
12. The King's ring	14
13. Reform of Canon Law	15
14. Death of Henry ; charge to Edward ; visitation of whole kingdom	15
15. Advancing reforms	16
16. Prayer Book of 1549	16
17. Distinguished foreign guests at Lambeth	17
18. Cranmer's final view on the Lord's Supper	20
19. Prayer Book of 1552	20
20. Articles of Religion	21
21. Our debt to Cranmer ; his views	21
22. Strype's summary of his character	24

II

LATIMER, THE PREACHER OF THE REFORMATION

	PAGE
1. His position in the Reformation	26
2. Hallam's estimate	26
3. Early life	27
4. Cambridge	28
5. Brought over to the Reformation by Bilney the Martyr	29
6. Inhibited by Bishop of Ely ; encouraged by Wolsey	30
7. In favour with the King	30
8. Accused before Convocation	31
9. His opinions not yet finally settled ; submission to the Bishops	31
10. Appointed Bishop of Worcester	32
11. Bold sermons	32
12. Preaches before Convocation	33
13. The Romish rebellions demand his death or banishment	34
14. Destruction of Images and Relics	34
15. Resignation in consequence of the Six Articles	35
16. Saved from death probably by Crumwell	36
17. Crumwell beheaded. Blank of six years	36
18. Committed to the Tower. Released on Edward's accession	37
19. His popularity as a preacher in London	37
20. His habits	38
21. Mary's accession. Committed to the Tower	38
22. Sent to Oxford with Cranmer and Ridley for disputations	39
23. Final examination and sentence at Oxford	40
24. Execution	40
25. Views :	
(1) On the Pope	41
(2) On the old Roman Catholic Faith	42
(3) On the Sacrifice of the Mass	43
(4) On the presence of Christ in Communion	44
(5) On propitiation in the Mass	45
(6) On Holy Scripture	46
26. Character	47

III

LAUD, AND THE MEDIÆVAL REACTION

1. Character	49
2. Differences of estimate	51
3. Sources of information	51

	PAGE
4. Birth, education, and ecclesiastical standpoint	52
5. Ordination. Marriage of Lady Rich to Lord Devonshire . . .	57
6. Oxford life	57
7. Dean of Gloucester	58
8. Bishop of St. David's	59
9. Controversy with "Fisher the Jesuit"	59
10. Confessor to the Duke of Buckingham. Visits his diocese . .	60
11. Accession of Charles I. Laud's predominant influence . . .	60
12. Controversy on Montague's Sermon. Bishop of London . . .	61
13. Laud and compulsion	63
14. Chancellor of Oxford	63
15. Court of Star Chamber and Court of High Commission. Arch- bishop of Canterbury	64
16. Measures against Puritanism	66
17. Metropolitcal Visitation of the whole province of Canterbury .	67
18. Juxon, Bishop of London, made Lord Treasurer	67
19. The Scottish explosion	68
20. Canons of 1640	69
21. The end	70

IV

HOOKER, THE WISE THEOLOGIAN

1. Birth	71
2. Estimate of Pope Clement VIII.	72
3. Estimate of James I., Charles I., and Princess Elizabeth . . .	72
4. Estimate of Hallam	74
5. Boyhood	78
6. Corpus Christi, Oxford	79
7. Sermon at St. Paul's	81
8. Unhappy marriage	82
9. Drayton Beauchamp ; visit of former pupils	83
10. Master of the Temple	85
11. Controversy with Travers	85
12. Desire for retirement ; Boscombe, Bishopsbourne	86
13. Friendship with Dr. Saravia	88
14. Sought by many. His character	90
15. Death	91
16. Destruction of his papers by his widow	91
17. Final publication of all the books of the <i>Ecclesiastical Polity</i> .	92
18. Quotations :	
(1) The Invisible Church	92
(2) Church of Rome heretical	93

	PAGE
(3) Episcopal Ordination not without exception	95
(4) Supremacy of Holy Scripture	96
(5) Presbyter better than Priest	97
(6) The Real Presence only in the soul of the faithful receiver .	98

V

BUTLER, THE CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHER

1. Birth	100
2. Estimate of Newman	100
3. Estimate of Matthew Arnold	101
4. Estimate of Leslie Stephen	103
5. Estimate of Professor Adamson	105
6. Butler practically adopts Kant's argument for the existence of God	107
7. Wantage and Tewkesbury ; correspondence with Samuel Clarke .	108
8. Conforms to the Church of England ; Oxford	109
9. Friends. Preacher at the Rolls Chapel	109
10. Rector of Stanhope. <i>The Fifteen Sermons</i>	110
11. Recollections. Publication of the <i>Analogy</i>	111
12. Prebendary of Rochester. Clerk of the Closet to Queen Caroline .	111
13. Favour of the Queen. Her death. Recommendation to George II. .	112
14. Bishop of Bristol	113
15. Byrom	114
16. John Wesley	114
17. Josiah Tucker ; the madness of nations	116
18. Offer of the Primacy	116
19. Bishop of Durham	117
20. Characteristics	117
21. His Charge ; Extracts :	
(1) Preaching	119
(2) Religious Forms	121
(3) Neglect of the simple institutions of the Reformers	121
(4) Repair of Churches	122
(5) Family Prayers	123
(6) Mental Daily Prayer	123
(7) Grace at Meals	124
(8) Parents and Children	124
22. Death at Bath ; burial in Bristol Cathedral	124
23. Professor Ueberweg's summary of his philosophy	125
24. His description of the <i>Analogy</i>	126
25. Henry Reeve on the <i>Analogy</i>	129
26. Conclusion	131

VI

WATERLAND, THE EXPOUNDER OF THE LORD'S SUPPER

	PAGE
1. Birth	133
2. Boyhood	134
3. Magdalene College, Cambridge	134
4. Habits of study ; Master of Magdalene	134
5. <i>Is Arian Subscription Lawful?</i>	136
6. Controversies of the Eighteenth Century	136
7. Vice-Chancellor	139
8. Visit of George I. to Cambridge ; difficulty of the University with Bentley	142
9. Life and influence at Cambridge	143
10. <i>Vindication of Christ's Divinity</i>	144
11. Eight sermons at St. Paul's Cathedral	144
12. List of his works	145
13. Chancellor of York ; Canon of Windsor ; Vicar of Twickenham ; Archdeacon of Middlesex	147
14. Habits	148
15. Declines Prolocutorship of the Convocation of Canterbury	149
16. Declines the Bishopric of Llandaff	149
17. Death	150
18. Character	151
19. Burial in St. George's Chapel, Windsor	152
20. Estimate of Archbishop Potter	152
21. Estimate of Bishop Van Mildert	152
22. Views :	
(1) True sense in which the Eucharist is a Sacrifice	155
(2) "This Do" not "This Sacrifice"	156
(3) In what sense the Eucharist is not a Sacrifice	157
(4) In what metaphorical sense Ministers may be called Priests	159
(5) Holy Scripture	160

VII

JOHN WESLEY, THE EVANGELIST OF THE MASSES

1. Birth	162
2. Father and family	163
3. Charterhouse	163
4. Christ Church, Oxford	163

	PAGE
5. Ordination ; Fellow of Lincoln	164
6. Law's <i>Serious Call</i>	165
7. Societies for the Reformation of Manners ; the " Methodist " Club at Oxford ; Whitefield	166
8. Sermon on the Eucharist	167
9. The mission to Georgia	168
10. German Moravian emigrants	169
11. Savannah ; mistakes	169
12. The Moravian impression, May 1738	170
13. Sympathy from the Bishop of London (Gibson) and Archbishop of Canterbury (Potter)	172
14. Separation from the Moravians	173
15. Bristol ; " The World my parish "	173
16. Irreligious state of England	174
17. Erection of preaching-houses	176
18. Separation from Whitefield and the Calvinist Methodists	176
19. Methodist Customs ; institution of Lay preachers	177
20. First Annual Conference ; personal supervision	179
21. The clergy less suspicious ; clerical colleagues	180
22. Ireland	182
23. The American commission	184
24. Writings	184
25. Old age	185
26. Description	186
27. Statistics	188
28. Biographies	189

VIII

SIMEON, THE TEACHER OF VITAL RELIGION

1. Estimate of Canon Overton and Macaulay	190
2. Birth	190
3. Eton	191
4. King's College, Cambridge ; religious impression	191
5. Servants and family	194
6. Atkinson and Venn	195
7. Ordination	195
8. Vicar of Trinity, Cambridge	197
9. Persecution	198
10. First University Sermon	199
11. Preparation of sermons	201
12. Consciousness of personal failings	203

	PAGE
13. The parish conquered	205
14. Tour in Scotland	207
15. One of the founders of the Church Missionary Society	211
16. First meeting of the Bible Society at Cambridge	212
17. Society for the Conversion of the Jews ; Trust for Church Patronage	214
18. Influence over undergraduates	215
19. Old age and characteristics	218
20. Last sermons ; visit to the Bishop of Ely	220
21. End	220
22. Funeral	222
23. <i>Horæ Homileticæ</i>	223
24. Interview with Wesley	225
25. Bishop Daniel Wilson's estimate	227

IX

NEWMAN, THE FOUNDER OF TRACTARIANISM

1. Birth	229
2. Childhood	229
3. Religious impressions ; Thomas Scott and Daniel Wilson	231
4. Trinity College, Oxford	232
5. Fellowship at Oriel	233
6. Contributions of friends to doctrinal development	233
7. Whately, Keble, Froude	235
8. Preacher at Whitehall ; Vicar of St. Mary's	238
9. View of the condition of the Church of England ; "Need of a Second Reformation"	240
10. The tour abroad ; the illness in Sicily	244
11. The Irish Bishopricks ; Keble's Assize Sermon ; the beginning of the Tracts	245
12. The first Tract (Newman)	246
13. The St. Mary's Sermons	248
14. Pusey	250
15. "The shadow of a hand on the wall" ; 1839	251
16. Condemnation of Tract 90, 1841	252
17. Retirement to Littlemore, 1842	254
18. Retraction of anti-Roman statements, 1843	255
19. Reception into Roman Communion, 1845	255
20. Results of Newman's crusade	255
21. Rome, Oscott, Cheadle, Birmingham, Edgbaston	257
22. Rector of Dublin Roman Catholic University	257
23. Estimate of Newman's difficulty	258

X

PUSEY, THE GUIDE OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

	PAGE
1. Birth	260
2. Family	260
3. Mitcham, Eton, Buckden	263
4. Christ Church, Oxford	264
5. Miss Raymond-Barker	265
6. Tour in Switzerland; Byronism	265
7. Fellow of Oriel; descriptions	266
8. Germany	269
9. Marriage and Ordination	270
10. Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church at 28	271
11. The Tractarians	272
12. Newman's description of Pusey's adherence	275
13. 1835; Pusey's Tract on Baptism	278
14. Difference between Pusey and the Reformers	280
15. Pusey's view of Baptism, and that of the Council of Trent	282
16. Confession and Absolution	283
17. Willingness to accept the Council of Trent if explained satisfactorily	286
18. 1843; Censure of the sermon on the Eucharist	288
19. Newman's secession	290
20. Death of Pusey's wife	293
21. Asceticism	294
22. St. Saviour's, Leeds	295
23. The Gorham judgment	296
24. <i>Library of the Fathers</i> ; Minor Prophets	296
25. Sisterhoods	297
26. Death	298
27. Bishop Samuel Wilberforce's remonstrance	299
28. Cardinal Vaughan on Pusey's movement	299
29. Personal influence and example	300

XI

ARNOLD, THE ADVOCATE OF LIBERAL THEOLOGY

1. Birth	301
2. Childhood	302
3. Winchester	303

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xix

	PAGE
4. 1811, Scholar of Corpus, Oxford	306
5. 1815, Fellow of Oriel	307
6. 1818, Ordination ; difficulties	309
7. 1819, Laleham	309
8. 1820, Marriage to Mary Penrose	309
9. Stanley's account of his religious principles	309
10. Bartholomew Price's recollections of Laleham	316
11. 1827, Headmaster of Rugby	318
12. Opposition	319
13. His system	320
14. Prayer for the Sixth	321
15. Manner in teaching	322
16. Rugby Chapel	324
17. Preparation for Confirmation	327
18. Extracts from Diary	330
19. 1841, Professor of Modern History at Oxford	333
20. Death ; effect on his old pupils described by the late Judge Hughes	333
21. Matthew Arnold's tribute	337

XII

TAIT, THE WISE RULER

1. Birth	341
2. Childhood	341
3. Edinburgh High School ; Edinburgh Academy	342
4. Glasgow University	343
5. Early religious impressions	344
6. Balliol ; prophecies	345
7. 1834, Fellow of Balliol ; 1835, Tutor	348
8. Ordination	349
9. 1839, Bonn	350
10. Shairp's estimate of his tutorship	350
11. His attitude to Tractarianism	351
12. Protest of the Four Tutors against Tract XC.	353
13. Tait's estimate of Newman	353
14. 1842, Headmaster of Rugby	354
15. Dean Bradley's estimate of his Rugby influence	355
16. 1843, Marriage to Catherine Spooner	356
17. 1848, Dean of Carlisle	357
18. 1850, University Commission	357
19. 1856, Bishop of London	359

	PAGE
20. Ritual troubles	361
21. Evangelistic work ; first Charge	363
22. 1860, <i>Essays and Reviews</i>	364
23. Bishop Colenso	366
24. 1867, First Lambeth Conference	367
25. Royal Commission on Ritual	368
26. Bishop of London's Fund	370
27. 1866, serious illness	372
28. 1868, Archbishop of Canterbury	372
29. Incidents of his Primacy	373
30. 1882, the end	374
31. Estimate by the Duke of Albany	376
32. Biography, and Monument in Canterbury Cathedral	378

I

CRANMER

THE RESTORER OF PRIMITIVE TRUTH

“WE have our treasure in earthen vessels” is a fact of which we cannot help being reminded in considering the life and character of Thomas Cranmer, who more than any other man influenced and moulded the English Reformation. He was not lacking in courage, as was shown by his frequent opposition to the wishes of his imperious master, King Henry VIII., as well as by his bearing in times of almost universal opposition and reaction ; yet on more than one occasion he yielded against his better judgment. He could be heroic and truly venerable in face of an agonising death, even to the degree of drawing tears from hostile bystanders ; yet under the influence of cajoling and deceptive kindness, and when there seemed hope of saving his life, he denied his true opinions. In remembering these inconsistencies,

which have greatly injured his reputation with those who do not agree with his opinions, it is only fair to recollect the circumstances in which he was placed. He was the pioneer of the Reformation on its political as well as on its religious side, and the ground on which he was standing in matters temporal was most uncertain. No human being could altogether oppose the personal tyranny of Henry VIII. and live: the heads of the wisest, best, and noblest of the day flew off at the order of the King without causing him the slightest concern. On the death of Henry the same personal tyranny was exercised by the more ambitious members of the Council, especially the uncles of Edward VI.; and Mary inherited all her father's stubborn and arrogant determination. In ecclesiastical matters the supremacy of the Pope, to which the Church had been too long accustomed, passed over to the King, according to the earlier precedents of William the Conqueror and his successors; and the leaders of the Reformation were not at once able to place that personal authority in its true and proper limits. It was not easy to realise that the right of Mary was not the same as the right of Henry; or if the right of Henry was legitimate, why

the right of Mary was wrong. It was a time of change, transition, perplexity, and incredible difficulty. Under the circumstances it is a matter of marvel that Cranmer was able to achieve what he did, without even greater complications than those in which he was actually involved. It is to his wisdom, moderation, skill, and learning that we owe the appeal of the English Church to Holy Scripture, to the Primitive Church, and to a General Council;¹ the fact that, of all the Reformed Churches, the English almost alone did not break the chain of continuity with the past; that English ecclesiastical institutions, instead of being open to the reproach of novelty, were the old, but animated by a new, pure, and Divine spirit; and that the English formularies, instead of being entirely modern, were studiously and laboriously framed on the best and truest lines of Scripture and antiquity. It is easy to say that in different parts of his writings Cranmer contradicted himself; but that is only an illustration of the fact that his mind did not suddenly emerge, like a butterfly from a chrysalis, full-fledged with a new set of opinions, but

¹ It is thought that the same may be said of the Church of Sweden.

gradually cast off one by one the old superstitions of the Middle Ages in which he had been brought up, as he became enlightened by further study and meditation. It was not, for instance, till the last year or two of the reign of Henry that he became convinced that the cherished doctrine of the Real Corporal Presence was neither scriptural nor primitive. If there had been no Cranmer, it is obvious that Gardiner and the papal party would have triumphed in the later years of Henry. If there had been no Cranmer, the Reformation, pent up by delay and restriction, would in all probability have taken the same course under the Council of Edward VI. that it took under the Lords of the Covenant in Scotland. English Christianity, except that which was papal, would have become firmly identified with the influences of Geneva; and it is improbable that Elizabeth and Parker, without the support of the bias which Cranmer had given to the career of the new learning towards truly Catholic and primitive antiquity, would have been able to stem the tide of fervid innovation, which, with Cranmer's Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. in their hands, they successfully checked and guided into safer and surer channels.

It is worth while to give the outlines of his career up to the death of King Edward VI. The rest is well known.

Thomas Cranmer was born at Aslacton in Nottinghamshire, on July 2nd, 1489, in the reign of Henry VII., three years before the birth of Henry VIII. The facts of his life have been often given; the most succinct account is by Professor Gairdner in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. His father was a gentleman of old family, which in earlier times had been settled in Lincolnshire. His first schoolmaster was "a rude parish clerk," "marvellous severe and cruel." In his boyhood he became skilled in shooting, hunting, and hawking, in which, though very short-sighted, he continued to take occasional recreation till far on in life. As Archbishop, he was able to ride the roughest horse in his stables as gracefully and well as any of his household. His mother was Agnes, daughter of Laurence Hatfield, of Willoughby. Losing his father early, he was sent by her, at the age of fourteen, to Cambridge, where, during eight years, he studied the schoolmen, and then took to Erasmus and the classics. He became B.A. in 1511-12, M.A. in 1515, and somewhere about that time Fellow of Jesus. From 1519, as the prelude of the

Reformation had already begun, and religious questions were being much discussed, he devoted himself for three years to the independent study of the Bible, subsequently to sound authors, ancient and modern. He formed the habit, which in his subsequent momentous controversies he found of inestimable value, of writing out excerpts of all the important passages of his author. He never read without pen in hand.

Losing his fellowship by marriage, he placed his wife in the Dolphin Inn, the landlady of which was her kinswoman, and became Reader at Buckingham College, now known as Magdalene. She died in childbirth, and he was re-elected to a fellowship at Jesus. About 1523, the thirty-fourth year of his age, he became D.D. Wolsey was now making his great foundation at Oxford, and sent to inquire for some Cambridge scholars for the new institution. Cranmer was invited, but refused. His college made him Divinity Lecturer, and the University one of the public examiners in theology.

Driven from Cambridge in 1529 by a pestilence, he went with two of his pupils to the house of their father, Mr. Cressy, at Waltham Abbey, to whose wife he was himself related. The King came at this time to Waltham, and the

two chief agents in his divorce from Catherine, Gardiner, his secretary, and Fox, his almoner, were lodged at Mr. Cressy's. Cranmer, Gardiner, and Fox were old college friends, and talked together about the difficulty in which the King had been placed by Catherine's appeal to the Pope. It was here that Cranmer made his famous suggestion that it would be better to consult the opinion of leading divines at the Universities on the legality of marriage with a brother's widow and the validity of the papal dispensation. Henry summoned him to Greenwich, commanded him to write out his opinion, and lodged him with the Earl of Wiltshire, Anne Boleyn's father, in Durham Place. At Cambridge, in one day, Cranmer persuaded six or seven theologians to pronounce against the legality and the dispensing power.

Next year was extremely interesting, for he went with an embassy, of which Lord Wiltshire was head, to meet the Pope and the Emperor Charles V. at Bologna. He was directed to proceed by himself to Rome, where he offered to maintain his thesis; but in the Court of the Pope his challenge against the dispensing power was not likely to be accepted. The Pope, however, in compliment to his master, made him

Grand Penitentiary of England. Returning to Lord Wiltshire's household, he was again sent to the Emperor in 1532, and received secret instructions to encourage John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and other German Princes in their opposition to Charles V. To his intense astonishment, while at the Court of the Emperor at Mantua, he was summoned home to be made Archbishop of Canterbury in succession to Warham. He had married in Germany the niece of the reformer Osiander; and although the marriage of the clergy was already a point accepted by the pioneers of the Reformation, the step would hardly have been taken at that date by an Archbishop of Canterbury. On other grounds Cranmer's reluctance was genuine; and he was only in his forty-fourth year. Seven weeks he delayed in hopes that Henry might change his purpose; but on arriving in England he found the King determined. The exact date of his return is not quite certain: Strype believes that he was present at the private marriage of Henry and Anne in November 1532; Gairdner thinks he came back in January 1533. Henry even lent him money to procure his bulls from Rome. On March 30th, 1533, Cranmer was consecrated at Westminster by the Bishops of

Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph. Before taking the usual oath of fidelity to the Pope, he protested that he intended not to bind himself to do anything contrary to the laws of God, the King's prerogative, or the commonwealth and statutes of the kingdom ; nor to tie himself from speaking his mind freely in matters relating to the reformation of religion, the government of the Church of England, and the prerogative of the Crown. He made a similar protest before obtaining the temporalities of his see.

Cranmer was fully convinced of the illegality of marriage with a brother's widow and of the invalidity of the papal dispensation. On April 11th he wrote to ask the King's leave to take cognisance of the nullity suit. Catherine was summoned to appear before the Archbishop at Dunstable. The Court was opened on May 10th, and the Queen pronounced contumacious for non-appearance ; on the 23rd the marriage was formally pronounced invalid. On the 28th, after a secret investigation at Lambeth, he pronounced that the King had therefore been lawfully married to Anne Boleyn in the previous November ; and on September 10th he stood godfather to the Princess Elizabeth. It was a sorry business ; but whatever Henry's

motives were, and however great the natural sympathy for Catherine, our generation, which has taken so decided a stand on the question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, can hardly blame Cranmer for his decision against marriage with a deceased brother's wife.

Cranmer was not, of course, able to control by himself the course of the Reformation in England. Henry VIII. was not inclined to go far with him in the restoration of the scriptural and primitive model. And Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, at the head of a vigorous papal and anti-reformation party, was exceedingly powerful throughout the reign, and often baffled the attempts of the Archbishop. Many of the clergy of his own cathedral and diocese openly thwarted his teaching and plans. But with mild and gentle patience he persevered, and the formularies of the English Church, many of them penned by his own hand, are in harmony with his final position and views. The first important thing he did was to join the King in an appeal from the Pope to a General Council. In 1534 under his inspiration Convocation petitioned the King for a translation of the Bible, which was published by royal authority in 1537, to Cranmer's unbounded joy. The visitation of

the monasteries, which he recommended with a view to their dissolution, in order that "new foundations might spring from them, which should be nurseries of learning throughout the realm," did not result as he had hoped, as a large part of their property was distributed by the King to his courtiers. In 1536 Bucer, in the dedication of a book to Cranmer, indicates the position to which he had already risen: "That all men proclaimed him endowed with a mind worthy of an archbishop and primate of so great a kingdom, and so disposed to the glory of Christ. That he had so attained to this high estate in Christ by his spiritual wisdom, holiness of life, and most ardent zeal to render Christ's glory more illustrious; that gathering together the humble, and taking pity upon the sheepfold, being indeed dispersed and scattered abroad, he always sought and saved that which was lost, and brought back Christ's poor sheep to His fold, and the pastures of everlasting life, when they had been before most miserably harassed by the servants of superstition, and the emissaries of the Roman tyranny. . . . How easy it would now be for him, and the other archbishops and bishops, who were endued with the spirit and zeal of Christ, from the remainder

of the ecclesiastical administration, to retain what might contribute to the true edifying of consciences, the saving instruction of youth, and to the just discipline and polity of the whole Christian people. For when once the enemies were removed out of the way, there could not then happen among us (in England) any extraordinary great concussion of religion and ecclesiastical discipline, or any dashing one against another, as among them of Germany of necessity came to pass; striving so many years for the Church of Christ against such obstinate enemies."

In 1537 the mark that had been reached by the return towards a scriptural standard is shown by a manual issued by Cranmer and his colleagues, called *The Institution of a Christian Man*, or the *Bishops' Book*, issued with royal sanction. It distinguishes three sacraments—Baptism, Eucharist, and Penance—as more necessary than the rest of the seven then recognised; reduces the *Ave Maria* to the status of a hymn; explains that good works are the inseparable accompaniment of a justifying faith; and, while acknowledging purgatory, condemns "pardons" as available for delivering souls from its discipline.

In 1538 Cranmer met with several disappointments. His appeal to the King to give

his assent to the marriage of the clergy ended in a proclamation in a contrary sense; the embassy from Germany to effect a correspondence of doctrine between the English Church and the Reformed Churches of the Continent proved unsuccessful; and the efforts of the mediæval party were redoubled to supplant the ascendancy which Cranmer held over the mind of Henry.

The years from 1538 to 1541 exhibit Cranmer in his finest aspect, patiently working for good, enduring a succession of the most serious vexations, and bearing them all with quiet faith and hope. The cruel Act of Six Articles was passed, notwithstanding his opposition. Crumwell, his most intimate friend, associate, and ally, was beheaded for the part he had taken in the marriage with Anne of Cleves. An attempt to obtain still more popish articles was only defeated by Cranmer's intercession with the King. Bonner, whose unfavourable character Cranmer well knew, was made Bishop of London. The King himself, wearied by perpetual discussion, was persuaded to forbid the sale of Tyndale's English Bible, and to limit the permission to read translations of the Scriptures to a few privileged persons. The Primate at this time

retired more to the country, and worked tranquilly at his own plans and in his diocese.

In 1543 a conspiracy seemed likely to ruin Cranmer and undo the Reformation. Gardiner and his friends held a succession of meetings, organised a scheme, and collected a voluminous mass of accusations: that he had arbitrarily discharged and restrained preachers who would not agree to the reformed doctrines, that he had ordered the removal of images without warrant, that he had corresponded with the German divines. The King showed the complaints to the Archbishop; the Archbishop asked for a commission; the King granted his request, and appointed the Primate the chief commissioner. Cranmer behaved with his usual modesty and dignity, argued each complaint thoroughly, and the whole plot collapsed.

In 1544 he succeeded in mitigating the Six Articles, and obtained the memorable change of an English Litany. A fresh attempt was made against Cranmer by Gardiner and the opponents of the Reformation in 1545; they hoped to get him committed to the Tower, and that when once there he would not come out again. It was on this occasion that Henry gave him his ring, as in the well-known scene in Shakespeare's

King Henry VIII., to be used in any emergency, and himself severely rebuked his friend's enemies for the ceaseless bitterness of their malice.

In 1545 Cranmer set about the reform of the Canon Law. It was absurd, when the authority of the Pope had been abrogated, that the mediæval canons, the greater part of which consisted of papal decrees, should remain in force. The result was the *Reformatio legum Ecclesiasticarum*, which can still be seen in church libraries. But Henry's life was nearly over, and Cranmer could not get him to go into so large a matter. The King employed him, however, in improving the service books, and in redressing various superstitions, especially the worship of images; and Cranmer, by his own influence, induced the laity to a more common use of the Scriptures, and in every way encouraged the preaching of instructive sermons.

The death of Henry in 1547 was an occasion of great anxiety, as much remained to be done, and Cranmer had hoped that Henry would do it. Edward was but ten years old, and for some time would be in the hands of his Council. The Primate's charge to the King at his coronation is full of courage and dignity, and written in that masculine and musical English, to Cran-

mer's command of which the whole Prayer Book witnesses. Cranmer's first act was to obtain a proclamation for the visitation of the entire kingdom, with the view of ascertaining the actual condition of the Church.

Cranmer's influence became more predominant than ever as the reign advanced, especially with the clergy. He carried an ordinance for receiving the Sacrament in both kinds, repealed the Act of Six Articles and other persecuting statutes, abolished images as objects of worship, secured the marriage of priests, took steps for changing the Mass into a communion service in English, published a useful catechism translated under his own eye from the German, issued a Book of Homilies for the use of such clergy as could not preach, of which he himself composed those of Salvation, Faith, and Good Works annexed unto Faith, and wrote a careful and elaborate treatise against the mediæval doctrine of Unwritten Verities, confuting the notion that Catholic Tradition was entitled to impose teaching not revealed in Holy Scripture.

In 1549 was published for use the first English Prayer Book of King Edward VI. It retained the words Mass and Altar, the Eastward Position, the Eucharistic Vestments, the mixing of wine

and water, the doctrine of the Localised Presence, the wafer put into the mouth, prayers for the dead, and the oblation of the Eucharist before participation. Cranmer's answer to the rebels of Devon and Cornwall, who objected to the changes brought about by the Reformation, is one of his most interesting and characteristic compositions.

At this time Cranmer entertained as residents in his house at Lambeth many distinguished foreign Reformers, who greatly helped his plans : Bucer, John à Lasco, Peter Martyr (afterwards Professor at Oxford), Paulus Fagius (afterwards Professor at Cambridge), Peter Alexander, Bernardine Ochin, Matthew Negelinus, and others. "The labour of the most reverend the Archbishop of Canterbury," wrote Peter Martyr to Bullinger, January 27th, 1550, "is not to be expressed. For whatever has hitherto been wrested from them [the bishops], we have acquired solely by the industry and activity and importunity of this prelate." He obtained the abolition of popish books of devotion, and completed the new ordinal. Gentle towards Romish opposition, which he wished to win over by reason and conciliation, he was firm in his opposition to all excessive Puritan scruple and

fancy, such as Hooper's refusal to wear the usual episcopal garb of the day. In 1550 the communion table was substituted for the mediæval altar, in order to remove the Romish idea of a propitiatory sacrifice.

In the last two years of the reign of Henry, Cranmer had given up his views of the Localised Presence of Christ in the Communion. In 1550 he published a *Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament*. In the preface to this he says: "Christ hath made a sacrifice and oblation of His own body on the cross, which was a full redemption, satisfaction, and propitiation for the sins of the whole world. And to commend this His sacrifice unto all His faithful people, and to confirm their faith and hope of eternal salvation in the same, He hath ordained a perpetual memory of His said sacrifice, daily to be used in the Church to His perpetual laud and praise, and to our singular comfort and consolation; that is to say, the celebration of His holy supper, wherein He doth not cease to give Himself, with all His benefits, to all those that duly receive the same supper according to His blessed ordinance. But the Romish antichrist, to deface this great benefit of Christ, hath taught that His sacrifice upon

the cross is not sufficient hereunto, without another sacrifice devised by him and made by the priest . . . to supply Christ's imperfection; and that Christian people cannot apply to themselves the benefits of Christ's passion, but that the same is in the distribution of the Bishop of Rome; or else that by Christ we have no full remission, but be delivered only from sin, and yet remaineth temporal pain in purgatory due for the same, to be remitted after this life by the Romish antichrist and his ministers, who take upon them to do for us that thing, which Christ either would not or could not do. . . . But what availeth it to take away beads, pardons, pilgrimages, and such other like popery, so long as the two chief roots remain unpulled up? . . . The very body of the tree, or rather the roots of the weeds, is the popish doctrine of transubstantiation of the real presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament of the altar (as they call it), and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest, for the salvation of the quick and the dead." This work attracted great attention and had extraordinary success. Gardiner, during his imprisonment in the Tower, wrote a reply. This produced another large and careful treatise from Cranmer in 1551, in which he

answers Gardiner point by point. Gardiner once more rejoined; and Cranmer occupied himself with a final treatise during his own imprisonment. Then came his martyrdom, and not a trace of this, his maturest work, remains.

In 1551 Cranmer was also busy in amending the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. He had the help of Bucer and Peter Martyr, as well as of Bishop Ridley, and Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely. The General Confession and Absolution were added, and the Ten Commandments. The Prayer of Consecration was altered to discountenance the idea of a Localised Presence and a Propitiatory Sacrifice. Several points were omitted, as oil in confirmation, extreme unction, and prayers for the dead. The first half of our present words of administration were disused, and the second half substituted. The result was the Prayer Book of 1552, as it was authorised in that year, which is nearly the same as that established by Queen Elizabeth, when the happy union took place of the old and new sentences of administration. He once more thought of assembling representatives of all the foreign Reformed Churches, so as to obtain an agreement in religious doctrine. Once more the project failed, and was now finally abandoned.

In the same year Cranmer, by request of the King in Council, laid the foundations of the final expression of the doctrine of the Reformed Church of England in the Articles of Religion. In 1552 the draft was laid before the Council. In September of the same year the Archbishop revised it again, and it was handed over to six of the royal chaplains, one of whom, Grindal, was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. In November Cranmer again revised it. Next year it received the King's authority. In the reign of Elizabeth the Articles were reduced from forty-two to thirty-nine, and received the sanction of Parliament and Convocation. In 1553 Cranmer's work came to an end by the death of Edward and the accession of Mary. He had strongly opposed the pathetic usurpation of Lady Jane, and the exclusion of Mary; but she was merciless, and the tragic and melancholy close of his life is familiar to all.

To Cranmer more than to any other man we owe the accordance of the doctrine of the Prayer Book with that of Scripture and the Primitive Church; that the presence of Christ in Holy Communion is not localised, but realised by faith in the heart of the believer when he obeys the command of his Master, and receives the pledges

of His love ; and that in Holy Communion there is no Propitiatory Sacrifice, but a metaphorical sacrifice of praise, prayer, emblems of God's good gifts, and that which is enjoined by St. Paul, the offering of our own bodies. There is no more accurate and learned treatise on the Holy Communion than his reply to Gardiner. Every sentence is valuable, but the following are peculiarly in point at the present time :

“ Thus, under pretence of holiness, the papistical priests have taken upon them to be Christ's successors, and to make such an oblation and sacrifice as never creature made but Christ alone, *neither He made the same any more times than once*, and that was by His Death upon the cross ” (*Cranmer on Gardiner*, p. 345).

“ The very supper itself was by Christ instituted and given to the whole church, not to be *offered* and eaten of the priest *or* other men, but by him to be delivered *to* all that would duly ask it ” (*ib.*, p. 350).

“ Christ made the bloody sacrifice, which took away sin : the priest with the church made a commemoration thereof with lauds and thanksgiving, offering also themselves obedient to God unto death.” “ And yet this our sacrifice taketh not away our sins, nor is accepted but by His

sacrifice. The *bleeding* of Him took away our sins, not the eating of Him" (*ib.*, p. 356).

"And as Christ only made this propitiatory sacrifice, so He made but one, *and but* ONCE. For making of any other, *or of the same* AGAIN, should have been (as St. Paul reasoneth)¹ a reproving of the first as unperfect and insufficient. And therefore, at His last supper, although Christ made unto His Father sacrifices of lauds and thanksgiving, yet made He *there* NO SACRIFICE *propitiatory*; for then either the sacrifice upon the cross had been void, or the sacrifice at the supper unperfect and insufficient" (*ib.*, p. 359).

"You speak according to the papists, that the priests in their Masses make a sacrifice propitiatory. I call a sacrifice propitiatory, according to Scripture, such a sacrifice as pacifieth God's indignation against us, obtaineth mercy and forgiveness of all our sins, and is our ransom and redemption from everlasting damnation. And, on the other side, I call a sacrifice gratificatory, or the sacrifice of the church, such a sacrifice as doth not reconcile us to God, but is made of them that *be* RECONCILED to testify their duties,

¹ He here assumes that St. Paul was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

and to show themselves thankful unto Him. And these sacrifices *in Scripture be not called propitiatory*, but sacrifices of justice, laud, praise, and thanksgiving. But you confound the words, and call one by another's name, calling that 'propitiatory' which the Scripture calleth but of justice, laud, and thanking. And all is nothing else but to defend your propitiatory sacrifice of the priests in their Masses, whereby they remit sin, and redeem souls out of purgatory" (*ib.*, p. 361).

Besides the form and language of the Prayer Book, his principal legacy to the Church has been the Homilies on Salvation, Faith, and Good Works; the Preface to the Bible of 1540; the Preface to the Prayer Book, Concerning the Service of the Church; and that on Ceremonies. His great work on Holy Communion is divided into five parts: (1) Of the Sacrament; (2) Against Transubstantiation; (3) Of the Presence of Christ; (4) Of the Eating and Drinking; (5) Of the Oblation and Sacrifice of Christ.

"He was of such temperance of nature, or rather so mortified, that no manner of prosperity or adversity could alter or change his accustomed conditions; for were the storms never so terrible, or odious, or the prosperous state of the times never so joyous, pleasant or acceptable; to the

face of the world his countenance, diet, or sleep never altered or changed. So that they which were never near and conversant about him, never or seldom perceived by any sign or token of countenance, how the affairs of the Prince or realm went. Notwithstanding privately, with his secret and special friends, he would shed forth many bitter tears; lamenting the miseries and calamities of the world.

“Again he so behaved himself to the whole world, that in no manner of condition would he seem to have any enemy; although in very deed he had both many great and secret enemies, whom he always bare with such countenance and benevolence, that they never could take good opportunity to practise their malice against him but to their great displeasure and hinderance in the end. And as concerning his own regard toward slanders and reproach, by any man to him imputed or impugned, such as entirely knew him can testify, that very little he esteemed or regarded the fruit thereof; because he altogether travailed ever more from giving just occasion of detraction. Whereupon grew and proceeded that notable quality and virtue he had, to be beneficial unto his enemies. So that in that respect he would not be acknown to have any enemy at all.”

II

LATIMER

THE PREACHER OF THE REFORMATION

LATIMER was the popular preacher of the Reformation, as Cranmer and Ridley were its theologians, and Cranmer, Cromwell, Somerset, and Burleigh its statesmen. None contributed more to make the return to scriptural simplicity deep and lasting in the hearts of the people than Latimer, by his powerful, direct, homely, and courageous eloquence.

Speaking of the literature of the Reformation, Hallam says: "No English treatise on a theological subject, published before the end of 1550, seems to deserve notice in the general literature of Europe, though some may be reckoned interesting in the history of our Reformation. The sermons of Latimer, however, published in 1548, are read for their honest zeal and lively delineation of manners. They are probably the best specimens of a

style then prevalent in the pulpit, and which is still not lost in Italy, nor among some of our own sectaries—a style that came at once home to the vulgar, animated and effective, picturesque and intelligible, but too unsparing both of ludicrous associations and commonplace invective.”

Hugh Latimer, son of a yeoman-farmer of the same name, at Thurcaston in Leicestershire, was born about 1485, the last year of King Richard III., six years before the birth of Henry VIII. “My father,” he says in a sermon before King Edward VI., “was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pound a year by the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep; and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did find the King a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place where he should receive the King’s wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went unto Blackheath Field (where the Cornish rebels were defeated in 1497). He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the King’s Majesty now. He married

my sisters with five pound or twenty nobles apiece; so that he brought them up in godliness and the fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor."

From another sermon we learn how his father taught him archery, and how to lay his body to the bow.

In 1506 he went to Cambridge, and four years later was elected Fellow of Clare Hall, just before taking the degree of B.A. In 1514 he became M.A. He was ordained at Lincoln, and in 1522 had the distinction of being one of the twelve preachers licensed by the University to preach in any part of England. He was also appointed to carry the silver cross in all University processions.

In 1524 he took the degree of B.D.; and being a fervent and zealous Papist, and a bitter opposer of all who favoured the Reformation, he directed his oration on that occasion against Melancthon. He was remarkable in the University for sanctity of life, as well as for knowledge of divinity, and studious habits. One of his audience was Thomas Bilney, the future martyr. The result is thus related in a sermon by Latimer: "Master Bilney, or rather Saint

Bilney, that suffered death for God's Word's sake; the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge; for I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the Word of God. For I was as obstinate a Papist as any was in England. . . . Bilney heard me . . . and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge: and he came to me afterwards in my study, and desired me for God's sake to hear his confession. I did so; and to say the truth in his confession I learned more than before in many years. So from that time forward I began to smell the Word of God, and forsook the school-doctrines and such fooleries. Now after I had been acquainted with him I went with him to visit the prisoners in the Tower at Cambridge; for he was ever visiting prisoners and sick folk." The first time he had an interview with Henry VIII., six years later, he obtained the pardon of a woman whom he had seen unjustly accused at Cambridge.

In 1525, as he was preaching in Latin in the University Church, Bishop West, of Ely, came in after he had begun, when Latimer changed his subject, and preached on the duties of a bishop. In thanking him West asked him to

preach against Luther. Latimer said he had not read his works. West was suspicious, and gave him a warning. West then inhibited him from preaching in the diocese of Ely, and to counteract his influence preached himself at Barnwell Abbey; Cambridge. Barnes, Prior of Austin Friars, Cambridge, exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, invited him to preach in his church. Latimer was ere long called to explain himself before Wolsey as Legate; he disowned Lutheran tendencies, showed himself more versed in Duns Scotus than Wolsey's chaplains, and was finally dismissed by Wolsey, with permission to preach throughout all England.

In 1529 Latimer's two sermons "on the Card" gave offence. He depreciated voluntary good works, such as pilgrimages and gifts to churches, in comparison of works of mercy. In 1530 he was disliked by the Catholic party for his known favour to Henry's divorce. Gardiner came to Cambridge to find out the opinions of the leading divines on this subject, and Latimer's name was sent to the King as propitious. Latimer was sent for to preach before the King, who highly approved his sermon.

Latimer was now in great favour, and through Cromwell and Dr. Butts, the King's physician,

was appointed to the parish of West Kington, Wiltshire. His plain and strong preaching against idle, incompetent, and unscriptural bishops and clergy provoked, as was natural, vigorous remonstrance.

In 1531 Latimer was accused with Crome and Bilney before Convocation. Crome recanted, and Bilney suffered at the stake. Latimer remained a twelvemonth unmolested. A sermon in particular was censured which was preached at St. Mary Abchurch, in which he suggested the possibility that St. Paul, had he lived in that day, might be accused to the bishop as a heretic, and obliged to bear a fagot at Paul's Cross.

In 1532 Hilley, Chancellor to Cardinal Campeggio, the Italian Bishop of Salisbury, served a citation on Latimer to appear before the Bishop of London at St. Paul's. The Bishop sent him to Convocation, where certain articles were proposed for him to sign. Latimer was still feeling his way; Warham was still archbishop, and Latimer had not come under the powerful influence of Cranmer. At first he refused to sign, and was committed to custody at Lambeth. Then he wrote declaring his preaching to be quite in accordance with the

Fathers, and said he did not object to images, pilgrimages, praying to saints, or purgatory. He only considered these things not essential. At last he consented to sign two of the articles, and finally made a complete submission before the assembled bishops. A letter to a friend again inculpated him, and he was forced ultimately to admit that he had not erred only in discretion, but in doctrine.

His peril gained him favour in the West, and in 1533 he preached at Bristol, reviving his old opinions, and declaring that the Virgin Mary was a sinner. In 1534 he was appointed to preach before the King every Wednesday in Lent, and the most famous doctors of Oxford and Cambridge came to hear him. He was made a royal chaplain, and licences to preach were granted at his request. In 1535 he was appointed Bishop of Worcester.

In 1536 Latimer was at Lambeth examining heretics with Cranmer and Shaxton. He also preached at Paul's Cross, denouncing in homely language the luxury of bishops, abbots, and other "strong thieves." He said in a later sermon that when their enormities were first read in the Parliament House they were so great and abominable that there was nothing

but "Down with them!" But he went on to lament that many of the abbots were made bishops to save their pensions, and that there was no real reformation, but only plunder. He believed to some extent in the evil reports; but he told the King that it was not well to use as royal stables buildings which had been raised and maintained for the use of the poor.

On June 9th of that same year Latimer had the singular fortune of preaching the opening sermon to Convocation, which had so lately tried to suppress him. He denounced the degradation of Christ's Word by superstitions about purgatory and images. In the afternoon he preached again, and asked the assembled clergy what good they had done to the people during the last seven years. They had burned a dead man, and tried to burn a living one (himself); but the real impulse to preach oftener had come from the King.

Convocation proceeded to pass acts in accordance with some of his suggestions. It drew up a set of articles of religion, and a declaration on Holy Orders, both of which Latimer signed with the others; and it abrogated a number of superfluous holidays. It delivered an opinion, signed by Latimer, that it lay with sovereign

princes, and not with the Pope, to summon General Councils. He was now recognised as a great promoter of the reformed opinions in the King's Councils, and in the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire rebellions in the same year the insurgents repeatedly demanded that he and Cranmer should be delivered up to them or banished.

In 1537 he was in London, helping to bring out the *Institution of a Christian Man*, known as the *Bishops' Book*. About this time he corresponded with King Henry on the subject of "Purgatory," maintaining that the dissolution of the monasteries could only be justified on the theory that purgatory was a delusion. On his return to his diocese he enjoined his clergy to obtain if possible a whole Bible, or at least a New Testament, in Latin or English. In November he was summoned again to London, as the greatest preacher of the age, to give the funeral sermon of Queen Jane Seymour.

In February 1538 he was again in London, when the smiling rood of Boxley was exposed and burned, after which he carried in his hand and threw out of St. Paul's a small image which legend declared eight oxen could not move. In his own cathedral he caused an image of Mary

to be stripped of its jewels and ornaments. He was anxious that "our great Sibyl" should burn at Smithfield with her old sister of Walsingham, her young sister of Ipswich, with their two other sisters of Doncaster and Penrice. In the same year he had the painful duty of preaching at the burning of Friar Forest, for denying the King's supremacy: he asks that he may be near Forest, "for I would endeavour myself so to content the people that therewith I might also convert Forest, God so helping, or rather altogether working." He was also at this time head of a commission for examining the "blood of Hales," which was found to be honey, or some yellowish gum.

In 1539 Latimer had to attend the new Parliament and Convocation. In the face of a papal excommunication it had to be shown how little England had departed from the old principles of the faith; and Latimer was appointed one of a committee of divines for this purpose. They could not agree within ten days, and under pressure from the King the Act of Six Articles was carried. The next three days Latimer was absent from his place in Parliament. So severe was the terrible whip that Latimer himself was not safe. He and

Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, at once resigned their sees.

The reaction which had taken place under the influence of Gardiner was highly unfavourable to Latimer. His resignation was accepted without reluctance, and he himself skipped for joy on putting off his rochet. Escaping to Gravesend, he was brought back, and remained nearly a year in ward with Sampson, Bishop of Chichester. For some time he daily expected to be called to execution. But that was not to be yet for sixteen years. From that premature martyrdom he was saved by the intervention of a powerful friend, probably Crumwell, who said to the King: "Consider, sir, what a singular man he is, and cast not that away in one hour which nature and art hath been so many years in breeding and perfecting."

In 1540 Bishop Sampson himself was sent to the Tower. Latimer was not liberated till July. In that month he had the horror of seeing his patron Crumwell beheaded, and his chaplain Garrard and his old friend Barnes burned at Smithfield. He was ordered to remove from London, desist from preaching, and not to visit either of the Universities or his own old diocese. For nearly six years his life is a blank.

In 1546 he was accused of encouraging his friend Crome "in his folly," when he had got into trouble by preaching. The latter years of Henry's reign were gloomy indeed for the reformers. Latimer appealed to the King, but was committed to the Tower. In 1547 he was released by the general pardon on Edward VI.'s accession, and his eloquence was at once recognised as likely to be useful to the new policy.

On Sunday, January 1st, 1548, after eight years' silence, Latimer preached the first of four sermons at Paul's Cross. He also preached at the Shrouds, a covered gallery near St. Paul's, his famous sermon on "the Plough," in which he denounced many public evils, political, ecclesiastical, religious, and social, especially unpreaching prelates, declaring the devil to be the most assiduous bishop in England. In March a pulpit was set up for him in the King's private garden at Westminster, the Chapel Royal being too small. His Lenten sermon on "Restitution" was followed by large sums of money restored to the King by Bradford, the future martyr. About this time Latimer and Cranmer gave up their belief in Transubstantiation. So popular was he that Parliament petitioned that he might be restored to the See of Worcester; but he

preferred to remain a simple preacher. "The seven sermons which he preached before King Edward are a curious combination of moral fervour and political partisanship, eloquently denouncing a host of current abuses, and paying the warmest tribute to the government of Somerset."¹

In 1549 he was one of the Commission for reforming the Canon Law, but owing to the death of Edward their labours came to nothing.

During the next two years he was the guest of John Glover, of Baxterley Hall, Warwickshire, and of the Duchess of Suffolk at Grimsthorpe, Lincolnshire. At this time he is described by his attached Swiss servant, Augustine Bernher, as being, although a sore bruised man, over three-score and seven, most assiduous in preaching, generally delivering two sermons each Sunday, and rising every morning, winter and summer, at two o'clock to study.

On Mary's accession he expected to be called to account, especially when Gardiner was released from the Tower. There was a strong inclination to let him escape, and the pursuivant was

¹ Mr. Gairdner, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

ordered to allow him to obey or fly. Latimer greeted him as a welcome messenger, and appeared before the Council. He was committed to the Tower, where he was not unlikely to die, as the hard life and cold were ill suited to his years. He was comforted by writings from his fellow-prisoner, Bishop Ridley, and both were allowed to prepare their defence in writing.

In March 1554 Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were sent down to Oxford to dispute with the ablest divines there. On April 14th proceedings were opened in St. Mary's Church. Latimer appeared with a kerchief and two or three caps on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staff in his hand. He was allowed a chair. He protested that, owing to age, sickness, want of practice, and lack of books, he was almost as meet to discuss theology as to be captain of Calais. On the 18th a discussion was held, in which, while complaining of want of memory, he handed written replies to the three propositions suggested.

It was not for more than a year, September 1555, that the Cardinal sent three bishops to Oxford to reconcile the three prisoners, if penitent, or else to hand them over to the secular arm to be burnt. They had been

confined separately, refused pens and ink, but well fed.

The examination was held on September 30th before the three bishops in the Divinity School. Latimer knelt before them, and made a spirited reply to an exhortation to recant. His answers to five articles brought up against him were taken down, and he was held to have confessed to all.

Next day, October 1st, Ridley and Latimer were brought up for sentence. Latimer declared he acknowledged the Catholic Church, but not the Romish, and adhered to his previous answers, without admitting the competence of the tribunal, which derived its authority from the Pope. Sentence was passed on him by the Bishop of Lincoln, Latimer in vain inquiring whether it were not lawful for him to appeal to the next General Council which should be truly called in God's name.

On the 16th he and Ridley were brought out to execution by the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford at the ditch over against Balliol College. Ridley went first, Latimer following as fast as age would permit. When Latimer neared the place Ridley ran back and embraced him. For a few minutes the two talked together. Dr.

Richard Smith preached a sermon in the worst spirit of bigotry. Ridley asked Latimer if he would speak in reply, but Latimer desired him to begin, and both kneeled before the Vice-Chancellor and other Commissioners to desire a hearing. This was refused unless they would recant. After being stripped of some outer garments, they were fastened to the stake by a chain round the middle of both. Ridley's brother brought him a bag of gunpowder, and tied it round his neck, after which at Ridley's request he did the same for Latimer. Latimer lifted up his eyes towards heaven with an amiable and comfortable countenance, saying in Latin: "Fidelis est Deus qui non sinit nos tentari supra id quod possumus" ("God is faithful, which doth not suffer us to be tempted above our strength"). He added: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle in England as I trust shall never be put out." The old man succumbed first to the flames; his heart burst with the heat, and he died without much pain.

Here are his opinions on a few points.

Of the Pope.—"What have we to do then but epulari in Domino, to eat in the Lord at

His Supper? What other service have we to do to Him and what other sacrifice have we to offer but the mortification of our flesh? What other oblation have we to make, but of obedience, of good living, of good works, and of helping our neighbours? But as for our redemption, it is done already, it cannot be better; Christ hath done that thing so well that it cannot be amended. It cannot be devised how to make that any better than He hath done it. But the devil, by the help of that Italian bishop yonder, his chaplain, hath laboured by all means that he might frustrate the death of Christ and the merits of His passion. And they have devised for that purpose to make us believe in other vain things, by his pardons; as to have remission of sins for playing on hallowed beads (and the like). . . . But woe worth thee, O Devil, that hast prevailed to evacuate Christ's Cross and to mingle the Lord's Supper. These be the Italian bishop's devices, and the devil hath pricked at this mark to frustrate the Cross of Christ. He shot at this mark long before Christ came; he shot at it four thousand years before Christ hanged on the Cross or suffered His passion."

Of the old Roman Catholic faith.—"Let the

Papists go with their long faith. Be you contented with the short faith of the saints, which is revealed to us in the Word of God written. Adieu to all Popish fantasies! The Fathers have both herbs and weeds, and Papists commonly gather the weeds and leave the herbs" (*Works*, p. 114). "Learn to abhor the most detestable and dangerous poison of the Papists, who go about to thrust Christ out of His office. Learn, I say, to leave all Papistry, and to stick only to the Word of God, which teacheth that Christ is not only a judge, but a justifier, a giver of salvation, and a taker away of sin. He purchased our salvation through His painful death, and we receive it through believing in Him, as St. Paul teacheth us, saying, 'Freely ye are justified through faith.' In these words of St. Paul all merits and estimation of works are excluded and clean taken away. For if it were for our works' sake, then it were not freely: but St. Paul saith freely. Whether will you now believe, St. Paul or the Papists?" (Conferences, Ridley's *Works* and Latimer's *Remains*, 1-74).

Of the sacrifice of the Mass.—"But if Christ may challenge any kind of men for taking His office upon them, He may say to the mass-mongers, Who gave you commission to offer

up Christ? Who gave you authority to take thine office in hand? For it is only Christ's office to do that. It is a greater matter to offer Christ. If Christ had offered His body at the Last Supper, then should we so do too. Who is worthy to offer up Christ? An abominable presumption! Paul saith, *Accipit panem; postquam gratias egisset, fregit; et dixit, Accipite et edite*: He took bread; and after that He had given thanks, He brake it, and said, *Take ye, eat ye, etc.*; and so said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is My body. He gave thanks? Well then; in thanksgiving there is no oblation; and when He gave thanks it was not His body."

Of the presence of Christ in Communion.—"I say that there is none other presence of Christ required than a spiritual presence, and that this presence is sufficient for a Christian man, as the presence by the which we both abide in Christ, and Christ in us, to the obtaining of eternal life, if we persevere in His true Gospel. And the same Presence may be called a Real Presence, because to the faithful believer there is the real or spiritual body of Christ; which thing I here rehearse lest some sycophant or scorner should suppose me with the

Anabaptist to make nothing else of the Sacrament but a bare and naked sign."

As to any lively sacrifice in the Mass which is propitiatory as well for the quick as the dead.—"This, as I understand it, seemeth subtilly to sow sedition against the offering which Christ Himself offered for us in His own person, and for all, and never again to be done; according to the Scriptures written in God's Book, in which Book read the pithy place of St. Paul to the Hebrews, ix. and x., where he saith that Christ His own self hath made a perfect sacrifice for our sins, and never again to be done; and then ascended into heaven, and there sitteth a merciful intercessor between God's justice and our sins; and there shall tarry till these transubstantiators and all other His foes be made His footstool; and this offering did He freely of Himself, as it is written in x. John, 'And needed not that any man should do it for Him.' I will speak nothing of the wonderful presumptions of man that dare attempt this thing without any manifest calling: specially that which intrudeth to the overthrowing and fruitless-making, if not wholly, yet partly, of the Cross of Christ.

"I do not deny that in the Sacrament by

spirit and grace is the very Body and Blood of Christ ; because that every man, by receiving bodily that bread and wine, spiritually receiveth the Body and Blood of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Christ's passion. But I deny the Body and Blood of Christ is in such sort in the Sacrament as you would have it.

“Christ made one perfect sacrifice for all the whole world ; neither can any man offer Him again ; neither can the priest offer up Christ again for the sins of men, which He took away by offering Himself once for all, as St. Paul saith, upon the Cross ; neither is there any propitiation for our sins, saving His Cross only.”

Holy Scripture.—“Faith is of hearing, and not of all manner of hearing, but of hearing of the Word of God : which faith also is the first-fruit of the Spirit of God ; which Spirit if we have not, so testify ye against us, that we be no Christian men ; and against yourselves, that ye be no ministers and stewards of Christ, but ministers of Antichrist and shepherds of your own bellies. Which Spirit if we have, so beareth us witness St. Paul that we be Christ's men, and St. Peter, that we may understand

the Scripture. Which only is that the lay-people desire; utterly contemning all men's draughts and all men's writings, how well learned soever they be; only contented with their old and new schoolmaster, the Holy Spirit of God, and the minister thereto of Him elect and of Him sent."

Such was Latimer—brave, hearty, courageous, unflinching before kings and rulers, full of humour and pathos, intensely human, typically English in his greatness and his characteristics, a man of the people, loving them and God with the whole of his large heart. "He had the moral earnestness of a Jewish prophet, and his denunciations of wrong had a prophetic directness and fire. 'Have pity on your soul,' he cried to Henry, 'and think that the day is even at hand when you shall give an account of your office and of the blood that hath been shed by your sword.' His irony was yet more telling than his invective. 'I would ask you a strange question,' he said once at Paul's Cross to a ring of bishops. 'Who is the most diligent prelate in all England, that passeth all the rest in doing of his office? I will tell you. It is the devil! Of all the pack of them that have cure, the devil shall go for my money, for he

ordereth his business. Therefore you unpreaching prelates learn of the devil to be diligent in your office. If you will not learn of God, for shame learn of the devil.' But Latimer was far from limiting himself to invective. His homely humour breaks in with story and apologue; his earnestness is always tempered with good sense; his plain and simple style quickens with a shrewd mother-wit. He talks to his hearers as a man talks to his friends, telling stories such as we have given of his own life at home, or chatting about the changes and chances of the day with a transparent simplicity and truth that raises even his chat into grandeur. His theme is always the actual world about him, and in his simple lessons of loyalty, of industry, of pity for the poor, he touches upon almost every subject from the plough to the throne."¹ Would that every age had its own Latimer!

¹ Green's *History of the English People*.

III

LAUD

AND THE MEDIEVAL REACTION

FEW names in all history are more pathetic than that of William Laud, whose sturdy little figure fills so large a portion of the melancholy reign of Charles I., and whose influence is still felt in that Church which he spent his life in endeavouring to modify. His share in the tragedy of the Great Rebellion was so vital, and we know so much about him, that his presentment is familiar. We see him learned and the patron of learning, devout and sincere, unselfish and self-sacrificing, hard and matter-of-fact in his conceptions, pedantic and inflexible in heart and mind, saturated with the principles of arbitrary and personal authority in Church and State, devoted heart and soul to the cause of King and Religion as he understood it, indefatigable in business, intervening in affairs with a zest that produced an

irritating sense of almost omnipresent meddlesomeness, a systematic observer of dreams and omens, self-willed and self-reliant, determined to the degree of obstinacy in his opinions, cold and inexorable in his dealings, calm and courageous in the midst of triumphant hostility and humiliating reverses, and dying at last with a simple and touching dignity. Alas! his idea of duty was so narrow, his perception of circumstances so blind, his insistence so imperturbable, and his personal power, through the enthusiasm of Charles I. ("a mild and gracious prince," Laud called him, "who knew not how to be or to be made great"), for a time so unbounded, that no surprise can be felt at the part he unconsciously and with the best possible motives played in wrecking the Monarchy and the Church, and producing that state of popular feeling amongst honest, free, God-fearing Englishmen which would only be satisfied with the blood of King, Primate, and Minister. How dismal the whole story is! How grimly the irony of history shows itself! If the Parliament men had desired to rehabilitate Charles, Laud, and Strafford, and to surround their names in the eyes of a large section of the successive generations of posterity

with such a halo of affection and reverence as would go far to obscure their fatal mistakes, they could have taken no more efficacious means than giving them the opportunity of dying with the majesty of heroism.

Controversy will always be active round the memory of Laud. 'Lovers of liberty, freedom of thought, and the simplicity of scriptural religion, as revived by Cranmer and the Reformers, will have no sympathy whatever with the policy for which he paid his life. To those who find their ideal in strict ecclesiastical discipline, the active discouragement of dissent, the doctrine of the offering of the sacrifice of Christ by a Priest in Holy Communion, and an elaborate external ritual, Laud will appear little less than a martyr.

We are indebted to Dr. Gairdner for a careful Life of Laud in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. There are seven volumes of his own works, republished in the Anglo-Catholic Library as part of the literature of the Oxford movement. A highly eulogistic biography of him was written by his disciple Heylin, under the title of *Cyprianus Anglicus*. His victim and relentless enemy Prynne published his accusations in his *Hidden Works of*

Darkness and Canterbury's Doom. The letters and State papers of the time are of course full of references and information, and in every history of the period he supplies a leading character.

He was born at Reading, October 7th, 1573, twenty-three years after the death of Cranmer, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Elizabeth. He was the only son of William Laud, a clothier. His mother, Lucy Webbe, had been married before to another clothier, John Robinson, and had several children. After some years at Reading Free School, William went to St. John's College, Oxford, in 1589, and next year obtained a Reading scholarship. In 1593 he became Fellow; 1594, B.A.; 1598, M.A.; 1608, D.D. His College tutor was John Buckeridge, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, Bath and Wells, and Ely, who had headed the reaction at the Universities against Calvinism, and was the life-long friend of Bishop Andrewes; what would be called now a moderate High Churchman, "standing between Roman Catholicism on the one hand and Puritanism on the other, laying stress on sacramental grace and the episcopal organisation of the Church of England." Under his guidance Laud became

a patient student of the Fathers; but although his subsequent *Controversy with Fisher the Jesuit* became the most famous of his works, he had neither aptitude nor liking for theological inquiry and argument; he showed little understanding of the position of the Reformers; he took the poetical, metaphorical language of the early Greek fathers in a precise, literal way; and while repudiating the technicalities of Transubstantiation, became a determined adherent of the post-Cyprianic view of the Real Local Presence in the Holy Communion, not (as the Reformers had held) of Christ's Presence in the heart of the worthy recipient, but, in a spiritual manner, in the consecrated elements. It followed that a real Priest offered up the sacrifice of Christ at an altar. The third view which distinguished him from the Reformers was, that the Visible Church in his eyes was not chiefly "a congregation of faithful men in which the pure Word of God is preached and the Sacraments duly administered in all things requisite to the same," but rather a hierarchy with the authority of the Apostles handed down by the laying on of hands from generation to generation, and that outside that hierarchy there was no Church. According to

this opinion, the Reformed Churches which had not been able to obtain episcopal ordination were not Churches at all, even in an imperfect way ; while the Church of Rome, however errant, was a true, and indeed the oldest, largest, and most important branch of the whole Visible Catholic Church of Christ. It is not astonishing that a generation brought up under the influence of the five preceding primates—Parker, Grindal, Whitgift, Bancroft, and Abbot—should view these opinions as Popery. Popery to them meant, not merely the usurpation of the Bishop of Rome, but a great mass of unscriptural doctrine which had prevailed in this country, as in the rest of Europe, with increasing degrees of intensity since, at any rate, the Roman mission of Augustine. There had been enough truth underlying the corruptions to constitute a true Church ; and the work of the Reformation had been simply to compare the corruptions with Scripture, and with the earliest and best of the primitive Fathers, and deliberately to exclude them as far as it was possible for human words. Through the ambiguity of the word Sacrament, which in some writers meant the Elements, in others the whole Ordinance, Laud was able to quote the

Reformers as if they maintained what alone the Roman Church cared about—the Local Presence of the Body and Blood in the Elements. He argued against Transubstantiation, but Transubstantiation appeared a mere theoretical explanation of such a Presence; if once the Localised Presence in the Elements was admitted, Transubstantiation was not worth arguing about. What the Reformed Church of England in Laud's time believed was that there was a Presence of Christ in the Ordinance, effectual to the faithful recipient, through his faith in receiving the hallowed emblems of the Passion; when once that point was clear, they did not care how strong the language might be which they used as to the reality of that Presence in the heart. What Laud cared about was the spiritual Presence in the Elements, invoked by the word of the Priest. Again, Laud's generation believed that they had got rid of the doctrine of the Priest offering in the Holy Communion the unbloody sacrifice of Christ's Body and Blood. "Beware, lest it [the Holy Communion] be made a sacrifice," was the language of an authorised homily not long before composed. Metaphorical sacrifices there were; the unconsecrated bread and wine as

types of God's gifts, money for the poor, prayers, ourselves; but when Laud spoke of "three sacrifices: one by the priest only; that is the commemorative sacrifice of Christ's death, represented in bread broken and wine poured out," his language appeared to his contemporaries as nearly akin to that of the Council of Trent. Laud had no theological acumen; his doctrinal writings contain many contradictions and ambiguities; and it is probable that he himself was not aware how contrary to the spirit of the Reformation, "Popish," or "Romish," these and other like statements of his would appear. In the same way, to a Church which had been accustomed to be on intimate terms of friendship with the Reformed non-episcopal Churches of the Continent, which Abbot had delighted by insisting that the Albigenses, the Waldenses, and the like were the truest representatives of Christ's Body, and which considered itself as alien to Rome and akin to the Reformed Churches in all matters except episcopal government (which was in the eyes of all English theologians since the Reformation a matter of the *bene esse*, not of the *esse* of a Church), Laud's doctrine of Episcopacy as an exclusive essential seemed a retrogressive step

to the Romish days from Augustine to Warham. It is necessary to state these contrasts in order to understand the extraordinary opposition which Laud's opinions, which are now very common in the Church, excited in his own day.

Laud was ordained Deacon on January 4th, 1601, and Presbyter on April 5th the same year. In 1603 he became Proctor, and also Chaplain to Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire. In 1605 he married his patron to the wife of Lord Rich, with whom Lord Devonshire had previously committed adultery—a compliance for which he was afterwards bitterly penitent.

At Oxford he won the reputation of being "a very confident and busy person." As early as 1604, in a thesis for the degree of B.D., he maintained that there could be no true Church without diocesan Bishops, and was reproved by the presiding Professor. In 1606 a University sermon was thought by the Vice-Chancellor to contain popish opinions. In 1607 his desire for preferment began to be gratified; he became Vicar of Stanford, Northamptonshire; in 1608 D.D. and Chaplain to Bishop Neile; and on September 17th that year he preached before James I. at Theobald's. In 1610 he

resigned his Fellowship on being presented by Bishop Neile to the rectory of Cuxton, Kent.

On May 10th, 1614, he was elected President of St. John's. The election was disputed; King James heard the parties, and decided for its validity on the ground that the alleged irregularity had been unintentional.

In 1614 he was attacked in the University pulpit by Dr. Robert Abbot, brother of the Primate, for a sermon declaring that Presbyterians were as bad as Papists. In the same year Bishop Neile made him Prebendary of Buckden in Lincoln Cathedral, and in 1615 Archdeacon of Huntingdon. In 1616 King James appointed him to the deanery of Gloucester.

It was not only in principles but in methods that Laud offended the men of his time. At Gloucester Cathedral the rubric ordering the Holy Table to be in the middle of the chancel was strictly observed, and the aged Bishop, Miles Smith, learned and strongly Protestant approved the custom. In most cathedrals and in the King's chapels the Table was still at the east. Laud persuaded the Chapter to remove the Table eastwards, but took no pains to explain and recommend his action in public.

“ If he had authority on his side, he considered it unnecessary even to attempt to win over by persuasion those who differed from him.”

In 1617 he needlessly made another unfortunate impression ; he wore a surplice at the funeral of a guardsman when staying with James in Scotland. In 1621 he became Prebendary of Westminster ; the same year James, a shrewd observer of character, reluctantly yielded to the entreaties of Charles and the favourite Buckingham, and made him Bishop of St. David's. Although allowed to keep his Headship, he conscientiously resigned it. It is characteristic of his uncompromising temper that he refused to allow the Primate Abbot to take part in his consecration, as he had accidentally shot a keeper.

The year 1622 was marked by the controversy with Father Percy (Fisher the Jesuit), undertaken at the request of James on behalf of Buckingham's mother. The subject was the Infallibility of the Church. Laud was induced by his desire to escape from the trammels of Calvinistic dogmatism to take up a wider and nobler position. In what he himself believed he was as arbitrary as any Calvinist ; but the only way out of Calvinistic influence was by

adopting a position of greater width. He argued that not all points defined by the Church are fundamental; limited as far as possible the domain and extent of soul-saving faith; and urged that the foundations of the faith are the Scriptures and the Creeds. In case of doubt about the meaning of the Articles, or superstructures upon them—("which are doctrines about the faith, not the faith itself, unless when they be immediate consequences")—then, both in and of these, a lawful and free General Council, determining according to Scripture, is the best judge on earth.

In the next month after the Conference Laud became Confessor to the Duke of Buckingham, ever afterwards holding him in extraordinary affection.

This year for the first time Laud spent a month in his diocese. He ordered the erection of a chapel at the Bishop's house at Abergwili, and presented it with rich communion plate.

On March 27th, 1625, James died, and with the reign of Charles, sacerdotalist and autocrat, Laud's real power began. It lasted fifteen years, and seldom has so short a period been fraught with consequences so momentous or results so permanent. It was Laud's unhappy

fortune that, knowing his opinions to be held by a minority amongst the clergy, and by a still smaller minority amongst the laity, he found in the enthusiastic and idealist King, twenty-seven years his junior, not only a docile pupil who had already for seventeen years drunk in his teaching both in Church and State, but an ardent supporter and coadjutor, burning, without any regard to consequences, to employ the whole force of the royal authority, which he had been taught to regard as absolute, in what appeared to be the glorious campaign for the stern repression of Anti-sacerdotalism in England.

Charles's first Parliament attacked Montague, a preacher, for using arguments against Rome which seemed to them inconsistent with the Reformation. Charles made him his Chaplain, and afterwards Bishop of Chichester. Laud was one of a Committee of Bishops appointed to report on the sermon. In writing with two other Bishops on his behalf, Laud used these characteristic and significant words: "We cannot conceive what use there can be of civil government in the commonwealth, or of preaching or of external ministry in the Church, if such fatal opinions as some which are opposite

and contrary to those delivered by Mr. Montague shall be publicly taught and maintained." The Romanists are fond of quoting Bishop Montague.

In 1626 Laud advised that no such questions as those raised by the Commons as to Montague should be discussed by public preaching or writing. Preaching before the second Parliament, he magnified the royal authority in State and Church alike. Already the House of Commons regarded him as hostile to civil liberty as well as to religious truth. He prepared Charles's speeches on behalf of Buckingham, and corrected Buckingham's defence.

The same year Charles promised him the Deanery of the Chapel Royal and the Archbishopric of Canterbury. In 1627 he made him a Privy Councillor, promised him the Bishopric of London, and placed him on a Commission for executing the Primacy during Abbot's sequestration. In 1628 he became Bishop of London.

In 1628 the present preface to the Articles was issued. Parliament struggled for a time; but in 1629 it was silenced for eleven years, and Laud received no further check till the beginning of the end.

Laud's great mistake, quite apart from his

theological attitude, is summed up in one word: Compulsion. "Ignoring the example of Andrewes, who, without irritating any one, had simply recommended the observance of the religious usages of which he approved, Laud held it incumbent on him to compel observance even by those who disapproved of them. In his mind the external obligation always took precedence of the spiritual conception. Uniformity to him was the surest propagator of unity of spirit."

It is characteristic that throughout the awful contest which he had provoked Laud was not hopeful on the one hand and absolutely fearless on the other. To Vossius he wrote in 1629 that he had done his best to find a quiet way out of the difficulty; but his fears outwitted his hopes. In the same year a paper intimated that his life was sought: "I beseech Thee deliver my soul from them that hate me without a cause" was his comment.

This year he was made Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Here again he made his personal rule a reality in new statutes and vigorous discipline.

The year 1630 introduces us to Laud in his least favourable aspect.- There were two Courts,

the Star Chamber and that of High Commission, which represented the personal powers of the Crown. The Star Chamber was an offshoot of Henry II.'s Court of Appeal; it had been systematised by Henry VII., and "had received great development, especially on the side of criminal law, under the Tudors. Forgery, perjury, riot, maintenance, fraud, libel, and conspiracy were the chief offences cognisable; but its scope extended to every misdemeanour, and especially to charges where, from the imperfection of the common law, or the power of offenders, justice was baffled in the lower courts."¹ The Court of High Commission was established by Elizabeth for dealing with ecclesiastical matters. "All opinions or acts contrary to the Statutes of Supremacy and Uniformity fell within its cognisance. A right of deprivation placed the clergy at its mercy. It had power to alter or amend the statutes of colleges or schools. Not only heresy and schism and nonconformity, but incest or aggravated adultery were held to fall within its scope; its means of inquiry were left without limit, and it might fine or imprison at its will. By

¹ Green.

the mere establishment of such a court half the work of the Reformation was undone. The large number of civilians on the board indeed seemed to furnish some security against the excess of ecclesiastical tyranny. Of its forty-four commissioners, however, few actually took part in its proceedings ; and the powers of the Commission were practically left in the hands of the successive Primates. No Archbishop of Canterbury since the days of Augustine had wielded an authority so vast, so utterly despotic, as that of Whitgift, and Bancroft, and Abbot, and Laud. The most terrible feature of their spiritual tyranny was its wholly personal character. The old symbols of doctrine were gone, and the lawyers had not yet stepped in to protect the clergy by defining the exact limits of the new. The result was that at the commission-board at Lambeth the Primates created their own tests of doctrine with an utter indifference to those created by law.”¹ Of both these terrible engines of personal despotism Laud was the leading member during the greater part of the reign of Charles till his impeachment ; and he exercised his authority with an

¹ Green's *History of the English People*.

unsparing hand. He had not the perception to see that the machinery was obsolete. When the cruel sentence on Leighton, the Scottish maintainer of the Divine right of Presbyterianism, was passed in the Star Chamber, it is related that Laud took off his cap and gave thanks to God, who had given him the victory over his enemies. In the Court of High Commission he was incessantly active. It was the cruelty of the sentences of these Courts that more than anything else raised popular fury against him. The rest of the facts of his career are soon told. In 1631 he consecrated the church of St. Catherine Cree, in London, where by his bowings and ritual he needlessly offended the Puritans who abounded in the city. In 1633 he was made Archbishop of Canterbury. He believed that he had been offered a Cardinal's hat from Rome ; but, at any rate, the offer was private.

In 1633 he further checked Puritanism by getting the King to write to the Bishops against ordaining except to a cure of souls, with a view of stopping the Puritan lectureships. He also obtained a decision from Charles that no Holy Table must be moved into the body of the chancel without leave of the Ordinary.

He rated Chief-Justice Richardson for interfering with the Somerset wakes, and warmly approved of the republication of the Book of Sports.

In 1635 he was placed on the Committee of the Treasury and that for Foreign Affairs. "His dealings with temporal matters were not successful. . . . All opposition he took as a personal slight."

From 1634 to 1637 Laud held a metropolitan visitation of the whole province of Canterbury. His Vicar-General, Sir Nathaniel Brent, went from diocese to diocese enforcing conformity. There were many abuses and irregularities to be corrected; but this rigid imposition of one standard hastened the disruption and overthrow of the Church. Much of this was regarded as a deliberate return towards Rome. From 1634 to 1636 the presence of the Pope's representative in England, Panzani, encouraged the idea. Laud knew that Rome would only accept absolute submission; but his distinction was not appreciated by the country.

In 1636 Charles, at the suggestion of Laud, made Juxon, Bishop of London, Lord Treasurer. "No Churchman," wrote Laud, "had it since

Henry VII.'s time. I pray God bless him to carry it so that the Church may have honour and the King and the State service and contentment by it; and now, if the Church will not hold up themselves, under God, I can do no more." Such a policy made the Church in the eyes of the people a "kingdom of this world," exacting punishment, rather than a helper in a godly life.

In the same year the Privy Council acknowledged his right to visit the Universities. Oxford was already submissive; he could now rule Cambridge.¹

The final explosion, after multiplied attacks by the representatives of the old non-sacerdotal Reformation principles, took place over the King's attempts to enforce new Canons and a new Prayer Book on the Scottish Church. Laud had already said that the course taken in Scotland seemed to him not a Reformation but a Deformation; and when the new system was sent down it was understood to be animated by his spirit, if not his own work.

¹ In 1633 he was elected Chancellor of Dublin University where he also provided new statutes. Through Strafford he exercised a vigorous personal influence over the Irish Church.

Everywhere he was held up as the real author of the Scottish troubles, which ended in the final alienation of the Scottish people from Episcopacy. He was a vehement supporter of his friend Strafford in the second war with Scotland.

In 1640, as Convocation was still sitting, though Parliament had been dissolved, Laud passed through Convocation those abortive Canons which endeavoured to enforce the Divine right of kings, and to impose upon the many the religion of the few. The oath of obedience to these Canons, which was rendered ambiguous by the words *et cetera* after the specification of the governors of the Church, was met with inextinguishable ridicule, and was stopped by Charles himself.

“Laud was now by common consent treated as the *source* of those evils in Church and State of which Strafford was regarded as the most vigorous *defender*. Libellers assailed him, and mobs called for his punishment. As the summer of 1640 passed away, he saw the ground slipping from beneath his feet by the miscarriage of the King's efforts to provide an army capable of defying the Scots. On November 3rd the Long Parliament met. On

December 18th the Commons impeached Laud of treason. He was placed in confinement, and on February 24th, 1641, articles of impeachment were voted against him. On March 1st he was committed to the Tower." His trial was a foregone conclusion, and after a long and weary imprisonment he was beheaded on Tower Hill on January 10th, 1645. No part of his life became him better than the ending of it. He died with courage and dignity, and upheld in a touching speech, as he was well able and entitled to do, his absolute integrity and sincerity in all the mistaken policy which brought about his downfall.

Laud's tragedy illustrates by way of contrast three principles: 1. "My kingdom is not of this world"; 2. The words of our Lord and His Apostles are of more theological importance than the whole mass of patristic comments and traditions; 3. "Be not many masters": "Domineer not over God's heritage."

IV

HOOKER

THE WISE THEOLOGIAN

RICHARD HOOKER, the most renowned of English theologians since the Reformation, was born probably in March 1553-54, in the last year of the reign of Edward VI., and two years before the burning of Archbishop Cranmer.

It is said that either Cardinal Allen or Dr. Stapleton, learned Romanists in Italy at the time of the publication of the first four books of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, sent for them, and after reading them declared to Pope Clement VIII., that though he had lately said he never met with an English book whose writer deserved the name of an author, yet there now appeared a wonder to them, and it would be so to his Holiness if it were in Latin; for a poor, obscure English priest had written four such Books of Laws and Church

Polity, and in a style that expressed such a grave and so humble a majesty, with such clear demonstration of reason, that in all their readings they had not met any that exceeded him. The Pope begged Dr. Stapleton to read him the first book in Latin; and when he had heard it, remarked: "There is no learning that this man hath not searched into; nothing too hard for his understanding: this man indeed deserves the name of an author; his books will get reverence by age, for there is in them such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning."

King James I., on coming to England in succession to Elizabeth, asked Archbishop Whitgift for the author of the Church Polity; and when he heard that he died a year before Queen Elizabeth, who received the news of his death with very much sorrow, he replied: "And I receive it with no less, that I shall want the desired happiness of seeing and discoursing with that man, from whose Books I have received such satisfaction: indeed, my Lord, I have received more satisfaction in reading a leaf, or paragraph, in Mr. Hooker, though it were but about the fashion of

Churches, or Church-musick, or the like, but especially of the Sacraments, than I have had in the reading particular large treatises written but of one of those subjects by others, though very learned men; and I observe there is in Mr. Hooker no affected language, but a grave, comprehensive, clear manifestation of reason; and that backed with the authority of the Scripture, the fathers and schoolmen, and with all law both sacred and civil. And though many others write well, yet in the next age they will be forgotten; but doubtless there is in every page of Mr. Hooker's book the picture of a divine soul, such pictures of Truth and Reason, and drawn in so sacred colours, that they shall never fade, but give an immortal memory to the author."¹

Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Charles I., says in her Relation at the end of *Icon Basiliké*, "He bid me read Bishop Andrewes' *Sermons*, Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and Bishop Laud's book against Fisher, which would ground me against Popery." Charles I. also recommended it to his children "as an excellent means to satisfy private scruples, and

¹ Walton's Lives.

settle the public peace of the Church and Kingdom."

Hallam's estimate of Hooker is worth transcribing at length: "While the scenes of pride and persecution on the one hand, and of sectarian insolence on the other, were deforming the bosom of the English Church, she found a defender of her institutions in one who mingled in these vulgar controversies like a knight of romance amongst caitiff brawlers, with arms of finer temper and worthy to be proved in a nobler field. Richard Hooker, Master of the Temple, published the first four books of his *Ecclesiastical Polity* in 1594; the fifth, three years afterwards; and dying in 1600, left behind three which did not see the light till 1647. This eminent work may justly be reckoned to mark an era in our literature; for if passages of much good sense and even of a vigorous eloquence are scattered in several earlier writers in prose, yet none of these, except perhaps Latimer and Ascham, and Sir Philip Sidney in his *Arcadia*, can be said to have acquired enough reputation to be generally known even by name, much less are read in the present day; and it is indeed not a little remarkable that England, until near the end

of the sixteenth century, had given few proofs in literature of that intellectual power which was about to develope itself in Shakespeare and Bacon. We cannot indeed place Hooker (but whom dare we to place?) by the side of these master-spirits; yet he has abundant claims to be counted among the luminaries of English literature. He not only opened the mine, but explored the depths, of our native eloquence. So stately and graceful is the march of his periods, so various the fall of his musical cadences upon the ear, so rich in images, so condensed in sentences, so grave and noble his diction, so little is there of vulgarity in his racy idiom, of pedantry in his learned phrase, that I know not whether any later writer has more admirably displayed the capacities of our language, or produced passages more worthy of comparison with the splendid monuments of antiquity.”¹

In answer to the narrow dogmatism of the Puritans, who despised all considerations except the mere letter of Scripture, the importance of which was extolled by the strictest theory of verbal inspiration, Hooker “took a far

¹ *Constit. Hist.*, i., p. 214.

more original course than the ordinary controvertists, who fought their battles with conflicting interpretations of scriptural texts on passages from the fathers. He inquired into the nature and foundation of law itself, as the rule of operation to all created beings, yielding thereto obedience by unconscious necessity, or sensitive appetite, or reasonable choice; reviewing especially those laws that regulate human agency, as they arise out of moral relations, common to our species, or the institutions of political societies, or the intercommunity of independent nations; and having thoroughly established the fundamental distinction between laws natural and positive, eternal and temporary, immutable and variable, he came with all this strength of moral philosophy to discriminate by the same criterion the various rules and precepts contained in the Scriptures. It was a kind of maxim among the Puritans that Scripture was so much the exclusive rule of human actions, that whatever, in matters at least concerning religion, could not be found to have its authority, was unlawful. Hooker devoted the whole second book of his work to the refutation of this principle. He proceeded afterwards to attack its application

more particularly to the episcopal scheme of Church government, and to the various ceremonies or usages which those sectaries treated as either absolutely superstitious, or at least as impositions without authority. It was maintained by this great writer, not only that ritual observances are variable according to the discretion of ecclesiastical rulers, but that no certain form of polity is set down in Scripture as generally indispensable for a Christian Church. Far, however, from conceding to his antagonists the fact which they assumed, he contended for Episcopacy as an apostolical institution, and always preferable, when circumstances would allow its preservation, to the more democratical model of the Calvinistic congregations. 'If we did seek,' he says, 'to maintain that which most advantageth our own cause, the very best way for us, and the strongest against them, were to hold, even as they do, that in Scripture there must needs be found some particular form of Church polity which God hath instituted, and which for that very cause belongeth to all Churches at all times. But with any such partial eye to respect ourselves, and by cunning to make those things seem the truest which are the

fittest to serve our purpose, is a thing which we neither like nor mean to follow.'"¹

Hooker's birthplace was Heavitree, a district of Exeter. The original name of the family was Vowell, but in the sixteenth century this was generally dropped. His great-grandfather and grandfather were both mayors of Exeter (1493, 1537). His father seems to have been in poor circumstances. Richard was educated at Exeter Grammar School, where he made rapid progress. "His complexion (if we may guess by him at the age of forty) was sanguine, with a mixture of choler; and yet, his motion was slow even in his youth, and so was his speech, never expressing an earnestness in either of them, but an humble gravity suitable to the aged. And it is to be observed (so far as inquiry is able to look back at this distance of time) that at his being a school-boy he was an early questionist, quietly inquisitive, why was this, and that was not, to be remembered? why this was granted, and that denied? This being mixed with a remarkable modesty, and a sweet serene quietness of nature; and with them a quick

¹ Hallam, *Constit. Hist.*, i., p. 216.

apprehension of many perplex parts of learning imposed then upon him as a scholar, made his master and others to have an inward blessed divine light, and therefore to consider him to a little wonder."¹

His parents wished to apprentice him; but the schoolmaster appealed to his uncle, John Hooker, first chamberlain of Exeter, the editor of Holinshed, who was in a better position. The uncle introduced him to his friend Bishop Jewel of Salisbury, who sent for the boy and his teacher, bestowed an annual pension on his parents to keep him at his books, and in 1568 (his fifteenth year) obtained for him a clerk's place at Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

The President of Corpus, Dr. William Cole, interested himself in the boy, and he had a good tutor in Dr. John Reynolds. Here he continued "still increasing in learning and prudence, and so much in humility and piety that he seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost, and even like St. John the Baptist to be sanctified from his mother's womb, who did often bless the day in which she bare him." He often journeyed on foot from Oxford to

¹ Walton's Lives.

Exeter, and paid on the way several visits to Bishop Jewel, one of which is described in detail by Walton.

Jewel died in 1571; but he had already interested his friend Bishop Sandys of London (afterwards Archbishop of York) in this wonderful youth; and Sandys, though a Cambridge man, sent his son (afterwards Sir Edwin) to be Hooker's pupil at Corpus. Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer (another pupil, grandnephew of the Archbishop, and cousin to Izaak Walton) became his chief friends through life.

In 1573, when nearly twenty, Hooker was elected Scholar of Corpus, the rule limiting the age to nineteen being relaxed because of his unusual proficiency. He became B.A. in 1573-74, and M.A. and Fellow in 1577. He was well acquainted with Greek and Hebrew music and poetry. Henry Savile, afterwards Sir Henry, the mathematician and astronomer was one of his Oxford friends. In 1579 he was appointed by the Earl of Leicester, Chancellor of the University, to be deputy to Dr. Thomas Kingsmill, Professor of Hebrew.

In October of that year a curious accident

happened. Barfoot, the Vice-President of Corpus, was an ardent Puritan, and expelled Dr. Reynolds, Hooker, and others, probably through some theological dispute. They were all restored the same month.

Soon after his ordination he was appointed by Bishop Sandys to preach at St. Paul's Cross. "In order to which sermon to London he came, and immediately to the Shunammite's house; (which is a house so called, for that, besides the stipend paid the preacher, there is provision also made for his lodging and diet for two days before and one day after his sermon). This house was then kept by John Churchman, sometime a draper of good note in Watling Street. . . . To this house Mr. Hooker came so wet, so weary, and weather-beaten, that he was never known to express more passion than against a friend who dissuaded him from footing it to London, and for finding him no easier an horse; supposing the horse trotted, when he did not; and at this time also such a faintness and fear possess him that he would not be persuaded two days' rest and quietness, or any other means could be used to make him able to preach his Sunday's sermon; but a warm bed, and rest,

and drink, proper for a cold, given him by Mrs. Churchman, and her diligent attendance added to it, enabled him to perform the office of the day, which was in or about the year 1581."

The criticisms on the sermon "did not prove of so bad consequence as the kindness of Mrs. Churchman's curing him of his late distemper and cold; for that was so gratefully apprehended by Mr. Hooker, that he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all that she said: so that the good man came to be persuaded by her 'that he was a man of tender constitution'; and that it was best for him to have a wife, that might prove a nurse to him; such an one as might both prolong his life, and make it more comfortable; and such an one she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry. And he, not considering that 'the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light,' but, like a true Nathanael, fearing no guile, because he meant none, did give her such a power as Eleazar was entrusted with . . . when he was sent to choose a wife for Isaac; for even so he trusted her to choose for him, promising upon

a fair summons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and he did so in that or about the year following. Now the wife provided for him was her daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion; and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's, which is by Solomon compared to 'a dripping house': so that the good man had no reason to 'rejoice in the wife of his youth,' but too just cause to say with the holy Prophet, 'Woe is me, that I am constrained to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar.'"¹

On December 9th, 1584, Hooker was presented to the parish of Drayton Beauchamp, Bucks, by John Cheney. Here Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer visited their former tutor; "where they found him with a book in his hand (it was the Odes of Horace), he being then, like humble and innocent Abel, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field, which he told his pupils he was forced to do then, for that his servant was gone home to dine, and assist his wife to do some necessary household business. When his servant returned and released him, then

¹ Walton's Lives.

his two pupils attended him unto his house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them; for 'Richard was called to rock the cradle'; and the rest of their welcome was so like this, that they stayed but till the next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition: and they having in that time rejoiced in the remembrance, and then paraphrased on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and other like diversions, and thereby given him as much present comfort as they were able, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife Joan, and seek themselves a quieter lodging for next night. But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer said, 'Good tutor, I am sorry your lot is fallen in no better ground as to your parsonage; and more sorry that your wife proves not a more comfortable companion after you have wearied yourself in your restless studies.' To which the good man replied, 'My dear George, if saints have usually a double share in the miseries of this life, I, that am none, ought not to repine at what my wise Creator hath appointed for me, but labour (as indeed I do daily) to submit

mine to His will, and possess my soul in patience and peace.' ”

Edwin's representations induced Archbishop Sandys to look for something happier for the theologian ; and in 1585, the Mastership of the Temple being vacant, the Archbishop being at dinner with the Benchers, persuaded them to nominate Hooker. Other names were pressed, specially Travers, the afternoon preacher at the Temple ; but Archbishop Whitgift seconded the efforts of Archbishop Sandys, and in his thirty-fourth year Hooker very reluctantly became Master of the Temple.

Travers was a man of learning, ability, and personal worth, who had been ordained by the Presbytery of Antwerp, and was a vehement upholder of many of the doctrines of Calvin. These he expounded with great power in his afternoon sermons ; and in his zeal for their promotion carried on a warm correspondence with the leading Reformers in Scotland and Geneva. Hooker, who followed Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and the other great English Reformers, as well as the Fathers of the Primitive Church, soon found himself, much against his will, involved in a public controversy with his colleague. It was observed by a wit that “ the forenoon

sermons spoke Canterbury, and the afternoon Geneva." The controversy at length threatened such evil consequences, that an interdict was laid on Travers' preaching by Archbishop Whitgift. Travers appealed, and petitioned the Privy Council, but without success. He then published his petition, and found many powerful adherents both in the Temple and elsewhere. Hooker made an able reply, which obtained him many friends amongst the upholders of the Reformed Church against the Puritans: but "that he might unbeguile and win those of Mr. Travers' judgment, he designed to write a sober deliberate treatise of the Church's power to make canons for the use of ceremonies, and by law to impose an obedience to them, as upon her children; and this he proposed to do in *Eight Books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*."¹

Hooker's beautiful unworldliness was again shown by his desire for a country retreat for the composition of this great work. "The foundation of these books was laid in the Temple; but he found it no fit place to finish what he had there designed; and he therefore earnestly solicited the Archbishop for a remove

¹ *Encycl. Brit.*, vol. xi., p. 621.

from that place, to whom he spake to this purpose: 'My Lord, when I lost the freedom of my cell, which was my college; yet, I found some degree of it in my quiet country parsonage; but I am weary of the noise and opposition of this place; and indeed, God and nature did not intend me for contentions, but for study and quietness. My Lord, my particular contests with Mr. Travers here have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man; and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions; and to satisfy that, I have consulted the Scripture, and other laws both human and divine, whether the conscience of him and others of his judgment ought to be so far complied with as to alter our frame of Church government, our manner of God's worship, our praising and praying to him, and our established ceremonies, as often as his and others' tender consciences shall require us: and in this examination I have not only satisfied myself, but have begun a Treatise, in which I intend a justification of the Laws of our Ecclesiastical Polity; in which design God and his holy Angels shall at the last great day bear me that witness which my conscience now does; that my

meaning is not to provoke any, but rather to satisfy all tender consciences; and I shall never be able to do this but where I may study, and pray for God's blessing upon my endeavour, and keep myself in peace and privacy, and behold God's blessing spring out of my mother earth, and eat my own bread without oppositions; and therefore if your Grace can judge me worthy of such a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun.'"

Archbishop Whitgift gave him in 1591 the rectory of Boscombe, Wilts, in the diocese of Salisbury, which had fallen to him by lapse; and in the same year he became a Prebendary of Salisbury. Here he finished four of the books. They were entered at Stationers' Hall in 1592, but not published till 1594. In 1595 Queen Elizabeth appointed him Rector of Bishopsbourne, three miles from Canterbury, where he remained till his death.

On his arrival at Bishopsbourne, "his friendship was much sought for by Dr. Hadrian Saravia, then or about that time made one of the prebendaries of Canterbury, a German by birth, and sometimes a pastor both in Flanders and Holland, where he had studied and well considered the controverted points concerning

episcopacy and sacrilege, and in England had a just occasion to declare his judgment concerning both unto his brethren ministers in the Low Countries ; which was excepted against by Theodore Beza and others ; against whose exceptions he rejoined, and thereby became the happy author of many learned tracts, writ in Latin ; especially of three ; one of the Degrees of Ministers, and of the Bishop's superiority above the Presbytery ; a second against Sacrilege ; and a third of Christian Obedience to Princes. . . . This friendship being sought for by this learned doctor, you may believe was not denied by Mr. Hooker, who was by fortune so like him as to be engaged against Mr. Travers, Mr. Cartwright, and others of their judgment, in a controversy too like Dr. Saravia's : so that in this year of 1595, and in this place of Borne, these two excellent persons began a holy friendship, increasing daily to so high and mutual affections, that their two wills seemed to be but one and the same ; and their designs, both for the glory of God and peace of the Church, still assisting and improving each other's virtues, and the desired comforts of a peaceable piety." ¹

¹ Walton.

At Bishopsbourne Hooker had not been twelve months before "His Books, and the innocency and sanctity of his life, became so remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and others (scholars especially) went purposely to see the man, whose life and learning were so much admired. . . . An obscure harmless man; a man in poor clothes, his loins usually girt in a coarse gown, or canonical coat; of a mean stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul; his body worn out, not with age, but study, and holy mortifications. . . . And to this true character of his person, let me add this of his disposition and behaviour: God and nature blessed him with so blessed a bashfulness, that as in his younger days his pupils might easily look him out of countenance, so neither then nor in his age did he ever willingly look any man in the face; and was of so mild and humble a nature that his poor parish clerk and he did never talk but with both their hats on, or both off, at the same time; and to this may be added that though he was not purblind, yet he was short or weak sighted; and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his sermon there they continued till it was ended."

He died in the year 1600, in the forty-sixth year of his age. A beautiful description of his life in his parish and of his last days is given by Izaak Walton. A few days before his death his house was broken into and robbed. When informed of this, he merely asked, "Are my books and papers safe?" On hearing that they were, he replied, "Then it matters not; for no other loss can trouble me." He lived to see the fifth book through the press; but the other three were not published till 1647, nearly half a century after his death.

About a month after he was gone, Archbishop Whitgift sent one of his chaplains to inquire of his widow for the three remaining books, "of which she would not, or could not give any account. About three months later the Archbishop sent for her to London (she was already married again) to be examined by some of the Queen's Council concerning the disposal of the three Books. By way of preparation for the next day's examination he invited her to Lambeth; and after some friendly questions she confessed to him 'that one Mr. Clarke, and another minister that dwelt near Canterbury, came to her, and desired that they might go into her husband's study, and look upon some

of his writings ; and that there they two burnt and tore many of them, assuring her that they were writings not fit to be seen ; and that she knew nothing more concerning them.' Her lodging was then in King Street, Westminster, where she was found next morning dead in her bed, and her new husband suspected and questioned for it ; but he was declared innocent of her death."

Dr. Spenser, who had married the sister of George Cranmer, Hooker's friend, and who became President of Corpus, recovered rough notes of the remaining books. George Cranmer himself died at the battle of Carlingford, November 13th, 1600, only eleven days after his old tutor. Careful inquiry inclines to show that the seventh and eighth are genuine, but that the sixth has been unskilfully, and possibly erroneously, put together.

A few quotations from his writings may be added on points which are being discussed at the present time.

1.—THE INVISIBLE CHURCH.

"That Church of Christ, which we properly term His body mystical, can be but one ; neither can that one be sensibly discerned by

any man, inasmuch as the parts thereof are some in heaven already with Christ, and the rest that are on earth (albeit their natural persons be visible) we do not discern under this property, whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body. Only our minds by intellectual conceit (imagination) are able to apprehend that such a real body there is, a body collective, because it containeth a huge multitude; a body mystical, because the mystery of their conjunction is removed altogether from sense. Whatsoever we read in Scripture concerning the endless love and the saving mercy which God sheweth towards His Church, the only proper subject thereof is this Church. Concerning this flock it is that our Lord and Saviour hath promised, 'I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of My hands.'"¹

2.—THE CHURCH OF ROME HERETICAL.

"He which saith, 'Depart out of Babylon, lest ye be partakers of her sins,' sheweth plainly that he meant such sins, as, except we separate ourselves, we have no power in the world to

¹ *Ecc. Pol.*, Book III., 1, 2.

avoid; such impieties, as by their law they have established, and whereunto all that are among them either do indeed assert, or else are by powerable means forced in shew and in appearance to subject themselves. As for example, in the Church of Rome, it is maintained that the same credit and reverence which we give to the Scriptures of God, ought also to be given to unwritten verities; that the Pope is supreme head ministerial over the universal Church militant; that the bread of the Eucharist is transubstantiated into Christ; that it is to be adored, and to be offered up unto God as a sacrifice propitiatory both for quick and dead; that images are to be worshipped, saints to be called upon as intercessors, and such like. Now because some heresies do concern things only believed, as transubstantiating of sacramental elements in the Eucharist; some concern things which are practised also, and put in use, as adoration of the elements transubstantiated; we must note that erroneously the practice of that is sometimes maintained, whereof the doctrine which teacheth it is not heretically maintained. *They are all partakers in the maintenance of heresies who by word or deed allow them, knowing them, although not knowing them to be*

*heresies ; as also they, and that most dangerously of all others, who knowing heresy to be heresy, do notwithstanding, in worldly respects, make semblance of allowing that, which in heart and judgment they condemn ; but heresy is heretically maintained, by such as obstinately hold it after wholesome admonition."*¹

3.—EPISCOPAL ORDINATION NOT WITHOUT
EXCEPTION.

“Men may be extraordinarily, yet allowably, two ways admitted unto spiritual functions in the Church. One is, when God Himself doth raise up any, whose labour He useth without requiring that men should authorise them ; but then He doth ratify their calling by manifest signs and tokens Himself from heaven. . . . Another extraordinary kind of vocation is, when the exigence of necessity doth constrain to leave the usual ways of the Church, which otherwise we would willingly keep : where the Church must needs have some ordained, and neither hath nor can have possibly a bishop to ordain ; in case of such necessity, the ordinary institution of God hath given oftentimes, and may give, place. And therefore we

¹ Sermon II. xi.

are not simply and without exception to urge a lineal descent of power from the Apostles by continued succession of bishops in every effectual ordination.”¹

4.—SUPREMACY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

“There is in Scripture therefore no defect, but that any man, what place or calling soever he hold in the Church of God, may have thereby the light of his natural understanding so perfected, that the one being relieved by the other, there can want no part of needful instruction unto any good work which God Himself requireth, be it natural or supernatural, belonging simply unto men as men, or unto men as they are united in whatsoever kind of society. It sufficeth therefore that Nature and Scripture do serve in such full sort, that they both jointly and not severally either of them be so complete, that unto everlasting felicity we need not the knowledge of anything more than these two may easily furnish our minds with on all sides; *and therefore they which add traditions as a part of supernatural necessary truth, have not the truth, but are in error.*”²

¹ Book VII., chap. xiv., 11.

² Book I., chap. xiv., 5.

5.—PRESBYTER BETTER THAN PRIEST.

“ Let them use what dialect they will, whether we call it a Priesthood, a Presbytership, or a Ministry, it skilleth not ; although in truth the word *Presbyter* doth seem more fit and in propriety of speech more agreeable than *Priest* with the drift of the whole Gospel of Jesus Christ. For what are they that embrace the Gospel but sons of God ? What are Churches but His families ? Seeing therefore we receive the adoption and state of sons by their ministry whom God hath chosen out for that purpose, seeing also that when we are the sons of God our continuance is still under their care which were our progenitors, what better title could there be given them than the reverend name of *Presbyters* or fatherly guides ? The Holy Ghost, throughout the body of the New Testament making so much mention of them, doth not anywhere call them Priests.”

“ The Fathers of the Church of Christ . . . call usually the Ministry of the Gospel Priesthood in regard of that which the Gospel hath *proportionable* to ancient sacrifices, namely the Communion of the blessed Body and Blood

of Christ, although it have properly now no sacrifice.”¹

6.—THE REAL PRESENCE ONLY IN THE SOUL
OF THE FAITHFUL RECEIVER.

“The real presence of Christ's blessed Body and Blood is not to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament; and with this the very order of our Saviour's words agreeth; first ‘Take and eat,’ then ‘This is My Body which is broken for you’; first, ‘Drink ye all of this’; then followeth, ‘This is My Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.’ I see not which way it should be gathered by the words of Christ, when and where the Bread is His Body, or the cup His Blood, but only in the very heart and soul of him that receiveth them. . . . It appeareth not that of all the ancient Fathers of the Church any one did ever conceive or imagine other than only a mystical participation of Christ's both Body and Blood in the Sacrament, neither are their speeches concerning the change of the elements themselves into the

¹ Book V., chap. lxxviii., 3, 2.

Body and Blood of Christ, such that a man can thereby in conscience assure himself that it was their meaning to persuade the world either of a corporal consubstantiation of Christ with those sanctified and blessed elements before we receive them, or of the like transubstantiation of them into the Body and Blood of Christ." ¹

¹ Book V., chap. lxvii., 6, 12.

V

BUTLER

THE CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHER

JOSEPH BUTLER, Bishop of Durham, author of the *Analogy of Religion*, the *Dissertations*, and the famous *Fifteen Sermons*, was born in 1692, in the fourth year of the reign of William and Mary, and forty-seven years after the execution of Archbishop Laud.

Before giving the brief sketch of his uneventful life, it may be well to know what a few great critics and thinkers have said about his celebrated writings.

Cardinal Newman, writing of the year 1823, says: "It was at about this date, I suppose, that I read Bishop Butler's *Analogy*; the study of which has been to so many, as it was to me, an era in my religious opinions. . . . For myself, if I may attempt to determine what I most gained from it, it lay in two

points. . . . First, the very idea of an analogy between the separate works of God leads to the conclusion that the system which is of less importance is economically or sacramentally connected with the more momentous system. . . . Secondly, Butler's doctrine that Probability is the guide of life led me . . . to the logical cogency of Faith, on which I have written so much."¹

Matthew Arnold writes of him as follows : " Butler deserves that one should regard him very attentively, both on his own account, and also because of the immense and confident laudation bestowed upon his writings. Whether he completely satisfies or no, a man so profoundly convinced that ' virtue—the law of virtue written on our hearts—is the law we are born under ' ; a man so staunch in his respectful allègiance to reason, a man who says : ' I express myself with caution, lest I should be mistaken to vilify reason, which is indeed the only faculty we have wherewith to judge concerning anything, even revelation itself ' ; a man, finally, so deeply and evidently in earnest, filled with so awful a sense of the

¹ *Apologia*, Part III.

reality of things and of the madness of self-deception: 'Things and actions are what they are, and the consequences of them will be what they will be; why then should we desire to be deceived?'—such a man, even if he was somewhat despotically imposed upon our youth, may yet well challenge the most grave consideration from our mature manhood. And even did we fail to give it willingly, the strong consenting eulogy upon his achievements would extort it from us. It is asserted that his three sermons on Human Nature are, in the department of moral philosophy, 'perhaps the three most valuable essays that ever were published.' They are this, because they contain his famous doctrine of conscience—a doctrine which, being in those sermons 'explained according to the strict truth of our mental constitution, is irresistible.' Butler is therefore said, in the words of another of his admirers, 'by pursuing precisely the same mode of reasoning in the science of morals as his great predecessor Newton had done in the system of nature, to have formed and concluded a happy alliance between faith and philosophy.' And again: 'Metaphysic, which till then had nothing to support it but mere abstraction or shadowy

speculation, Butler placed on the firm basis of observation and experiment.' And Sir James Mackintosh says of the *Sermons* in general: 'In these sermons Butler has taught truths more capable of being exactly distinguished from the doctrines of his predecessors, more satisfactorily established by him, more comprehensively applied to particulars, more rationally connected with each other, and therefore more worthy of the name of *discovery* than any with which we are acquainted, if we ought not, with some hesitation, to except the first steps of the Grecian philosophers towards a theory of morals.' The *Analogy* Mackintosh calls 'the most original and profound work extant in any language on the philosophy of religion.' Such are Butler's claims on our attention."¹

Leslie Stephen, while criticising from an adverse point of view some of Butler's intellectual positions and methods, gives him a high place amongst moral and religious thinkers: "Joseph Butler belonged to the exceedingly small class of men who find in abstract speculation not merely the main employment, but almost the sole enjoyment of their lives. He

¹ "Bishop Butler and the Zeit-geist," in *Last Essays on Church and Religion*, p. 64.

stands out in strange contrast to the pushing patronage-hunters of his generation. Amongst the clergy, Berkeley alone was his equal, as, in some respects, Berkeley was greatly his superior in speculative power. But Berkeley was impelled by his ardent benevolence into active occupations, whilst Butler passed his days . . . in profound meditation. . . . Butler stood apart from the world. . . . As against Deism, the force of Butler's argument is undeniable. Nature has its dark side. It is not the amiable power which fluent metaphysicians constructed out of *a priori* guesses. . . . No religion can be powerful which does not give forcible expression to men's conviction of the prevalence of natural and moral evil, and of their intimate connection. The shallow optimism of the Deists blinked the obvious facts. Butler recognised them manfully, in spite of the additional horrors of the nightmares which haunted his imagination. There is such a thing as evil in the world, he seems to say, and the worst of evils is vice. The philosophy might be improved; but the very want of a philosophy makes his vigorous grasp of such truths the more impressive. . . . Butler has been compared to Pascal. Infinitely inferior in beauty of style,

and greatly inferior in logical clearness and width of view as Butler is to Pascal, there is a certain resemblance. Butler and Pascal are both sensible, as the noblest minds are alone sensible, of the sad discords of the universe. To both of them it seemed to be a scene of blind misery and confusion. Pascal, in despair, pronounces man's intellect to be helpless, and does his best to prostrate himself before an earthly idol. Butler, trained in a manlier school, refused to commit intellectual suicide. Reason, he says, is feeble; he disdains to conceal how feeble; and yet he resolves painfully and hesitatingly to grope out a path by this feeble guidance."¹

And Professor Adamson's estimate in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* should be quoted: "He was an earnest and deep-thinking Christian, melancholy by temperament, and grieved by what seemed to him the hopelessly irreligious condition of his age. His intellect was profound and comprehensive, thoroughly qualified to grapple with the deepest problems of metaphysics, but by natural preference occupying itself mainly with the practical and moral.

¹ *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. I., "Butler's Analogy."

Man's conduct in life, not his theory of the universe, was what interested him. . . . It would be unfair to Butler's argument to demand from it answers to problems which had not in his time arisen, and to which, even if they had then existed, the plan of his work would not have extended. . . . What that work has done is to prove to the consistent Deist that no objections can be drawn from reason or experience against natural or revealed religion, and, consequently, that the things objected to are not incredible, and may be proved by external evidence. . . . Throughout the whole of the *Analogy* it is manifest that the interest which lay closest to Butler's heart was the ethical. His whole cast of thinking was practical. The moral nature of man, his conduct in life, is that on account of which alone an inquiry into religion is of importance. The systematic account of this moral nature is to be found in the famous *Sermons*, especially in the first three. In these sermons Butler has made substantial contributions to ethical science, and it may be said with confidence, that in their own department nothing superior in value appeared during the long interval between Aristotle and Kant. To both of these great

thinkers he has certain analogies. He resembles the first in his method of investigating the end which human nature is intended to realise; he reminds of the other by the consistency with which he upholds the absolute supremacy of moral law."

"As against Deism, the force of Butler's argument is unanswerable." What we have to do is to support Butler by a satisfactory basis for the belief in God and the soul. "The belief in God and the belief in a soul are with Butler the primary articles of natural religion. The first is assumed, the validity of the second is examined in the first chapter of the *Analogy*." But Butler's position is more than an assumption; although he does not formulate it, it is really the same as that taken up in later days by Kant. Without the two regulative principles of belief in God and the soul, morality, as a matter of fact, is impossible; without morality man cannot, as a matter of fact, pursue his true end, or attain to what is deserving of being called happiness. This, when fully stated, is a sufficient ground; and it was throughout in Butler's mind. Had his opponents been other than Deists, he would

have had to state his ultimate ground ; and that he could have stated it as profoundly and convincingly as Kant cannot reasonably be doubted.

Butler's birthplace was Wantage, and his birthday May 18th, 1692. His father was a retired Presbyterian draper, who lived in a house called "The Priory" on the outskirts of the town, which can still be seen. Joseph was the youngest of eight children. At the Latin School at Wantage his master was the Rev. Philip Barton, to whom long after, when Dean of St. Paul's, he had the gratification of giving one of his first pieces of patronage, the rectory of Hutton, Essex. His father, intending him for the Presbyterian ministry, sent him to a Nonconformist school, kept by Samuel Jones, at Gloucester, and afterwards at Tewkesbury. Among the pupils were Secker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury ; Maddox, afterwards Bishop of Worcester ; and Samuel Chandler, a well-known Nonconformist divine. There were sixteen pupils in logic, Hebrew, mathematics, and classics.¹ While still at Tewkesbury Butler carried on a correspondence with Samuel Clarke, the *a priori* theological philosopher, offering

¹ Letters from Secker to Dr. Isaac Watts.

acute objections to some of his positions, which he subsequently withdrew. Butler did not give his name, but got the letters posted through Secker at Gloucester.

Deciding to conform to the Church of England, he succeeded in persuading his father to allow him to enter at Oriel College, Oxford, with a view to taking orders; and he matriculated in March 1714-15. Oxford seems to have been at that time uncongenial to his mind; he tells Clarke, with whom he corresponded under his own name, that he is so "tired out" by "frivolous lectures" and "unintelligible disputations" that he thinks of migrating to Cambridge. However, he took his B.A. degree on October 16th, 1718, in his twenty-seventh year, and that of B.C.L. on June 10th, 1721.

One of his chief college friends was Edward Talbot, afterwards Archdeacon of Buckingham, son of the Bishop of Salisbury, and younger brother of Lord Chancellor Talbot. In 1717 Edward became Vicar of East Hendred, near Wantage, and the parish registers contain traces of Butler's ministrations. In October and December 1718 Butler was ordained Deacon and Presbyter by Bishop Talbot at Salisbury, and was appointed to the Preacher-

ship of the Rolls Chapel. Edward the Archdeacon died in 1720, and it is interesting to notice that his widow and daughter became inmates of Secker's family, and that Butler remained their constant friend through life. On his deathbed Talbot recommended both Butler and Secker to his father.

In 1721 Butler became Prebendary of Salisbury, and in 1722 Bishop Talbot, who had been transferred to Durham, placed Butler in the rectory of Houghton-le-Skerne, where he improved the house. In 1722 the Bishop ordained Secker, and in 1724 made him Rector of Houghton-le-Spring. Secker, in his turn, persuaded the Bishop to present Butler to the rectory of Stanhope, famous at that time and long afterwards for its abundant income. Becoming thus at last independent, Butler resigned the Preachership of the Rolls in 1726, and published the famous *Fifteen Sermons*, the selection of which, he says in the preface to the second edition, was in great measure accidental.

Butler remained thirteen years at Stanhope, leading a very quiet life. Bishop Philpotts, late of Exeter, one of his successors in the parish, learned that he rode a black pony,

and rode very fast. Another authority relates that he sometimes fell into reveries, and allowed the pony to graze at will. Beggars he could only resist by shutting himself into the rectory. The *Analogy* was published in 1736, and dedicated to Lord Chancellor Talbot, elder brother of Edward, who obtained the woolsack in 1733. The Chancellor had made him his chaplain on his appointment, and Butler had at the same time proceeded to the degree of D.C.L.

In July 1736 Lord Talbot made him Prebendary of Rochester, and in the same month he became Clerk of the Closet to Queen Caroline, the able, witty, and philosophical wife of George II.; Secker on these occasions was again helpful. Queen Caroline gave philosophical parties in the evenings at Kensington and St. James's; "the controversy between Clarke and Leibnitz had been carried on through her, and Clarke, Berkeley, Hoadly, and Sherlock had held conversations in her presence."¹ It is possible that while Preacher at the Rolls Butler, as a friend of Clarke, may have been introduced to these reunions; but it must be remembered that he did not become Clerk of

¹ Adamson, *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

the Closet till the year of the publication of the *Analogy*. Mark Pattison assumes that the Preachership of the Rolls must have led to intimacy at Court: "The Deistical writers formed the atmosphere which educated people breathed. The objections the *Analogy* meets are not new and unreasoned objections, but such as had worn well, and had borne the rub of controversy, because they were genuine. It was in society, and not in his study, that Butler learned the weight of the Deistical arguments. . . . At the Queen's philosophical parties, where these topics were canvassed with earnestness and freedom, Butler must often have felt the impotence of reply in detail, and seen, as he says, 'how impossible it must be in a cursory conversation to unite all into one argument, and represent it as it ought to be.'"

Butler had given up the Preachership, it will be remembered, in 1726; and it was in 1733 that Secker, having become Chaplain to King George II., mentioned his friend to the Queen. Her reply, "she thought he had been dead," she afterwards repeated to Archbishop Blackburne of York, who answered, "No, Madam, he is not dead, but he is buried." After his appointment as Clerk of the Closet, the Queen

commanded his attendance every evening from 7 to 9 when in London. Dying next year (November 20th, 1737), she recommended Butler to Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury; her attendant, Lord Hervey, says it was the only instance of a recommendation by name during her illness. A month after her death, Butler preached before the King on profiting by affliction; he was much moved, and undertook to do "something very good for him."

Next year, 1738, the See of Bristol fell vacant, on the transference of Dr. Gooch to Norwich. Bristol, with all the claims on a bishopric for hospitality and charity, could only be held by a man who had other means, as the endowment was only £400 a year; and this was prudently put forward by Butler, who had no private income, when he sent a grateful acceptance in reply to Walpole's letter offering him that diocese. "It is not very suitable either to the condition of my fortune or the circumstances, nor, as I should have thought, answerable to the recommendation with which I was honoured." It is clear that Butler, who had no ambition, was alarmed by the prospect of struggling with poverty in a high and responsible position. He was allowed to hold

his prebend at Rochester (he gave up that at Salisbury) and the rectory of Stanhope until 1740, when he was made one of the long series of illustrious Deans of St. Paul's. On that appointment (May 24th) he gave up his other preferments, except the bishopric. For excuse, not justification, of these old pluralities, it may be said that population was then small, and duties were more easily performed; and, in the case of Butler, that it would have been difficult in that artificial and polished age to do his duty as bishop without some help besides what was not more than the salary of a head clerk. As a matter of fact, he spent the whole income of the see for twelve years (£4,800) on repairs to the bishop's house at Bristol.

Some personal glimpses of Butler belong to the Bristol period. Byrom, the clerical rhymist, was introduced to him by David Hartley, the moral philosopher, at whose house they met, in March 1737. In a long argument Butler defended reason, Byrom authority. Byrom wished he had Butler's temper and calmness, but thought him a little too vigorous. In 1749 Byrom dined with Butler in a party of fifteen, and found him "very civil and courteous."

In August 1739 John Wesley had an inter-

view with the Bishop. Wesley was beginning his great career, and already some of those phenomena had followed his sermons which he attributed to Divine power, Butler to morbid and misdirected enthusiasm. There had been complaints, and the Bishop, so strongly on the side of reason, could not sympathise with the young zealot; Wesley was then thirty-six, Butler forty-seven. Butler was shocked at "a horrid thing, a very horrid thing, pretending to extraordinary gifts and revelations of the Holy Ghost." Wesley disclaimed administering communion to his societies, and believed he never would. On hearing of fits, and prayers over persons in strong anguish, Butler remarked: "Very extraordinary indeed! Well, sir, since you ask my advice, I will give it freely. You have no business here. You are not commissioned to preach in this diocese. Therefore I advise you to go home." Neither of the two great men appreciated the splendid gifts of the other. It is one of the tragic ironies of history that they were not in a position to learn from each other. David Hume also intended to call on Butler; unhappily the visit was never achieved.

A friend of Butler's at Bristol was Josiah

Tucker, afterwards celebrated as Dean of Gloucester. Butler gave him a prebend in his cathedral, and made him domestic chaplain. It is Tucker who tells how Butler used to walk for hours at night in the gardens behind his house; and once suddenly asked him whether nations might not go mad as well as individuals, for nothing else could account for most of the transactions in history.

In 1746, on the death of Egerton, Bishop of Hereford, Butler was made Clerk of the Closet to the King, and in 1747, on the death of Archbishop Potter, he received the offer of the primacy. A nephew, John Butler, a rich bachelor, came up to town prepared to advance £20,000 for the heavy expenses necessary to taking up that exalted and responsible position in Church and State, in first-fruits, tenths, and the furniture and apparatus of so vast a house as Lambeth. Butler, however, who was naturally of a melancholy and desponding disposition, was deeply impressed with the worldliness, viciousness, and scepticism of the age: he replied that "it was too late for him to try to support a falling Church." It is said that another Joseph, Bishop of Durham (Dr. Lightfoot), was considered for the See of

Canterbury, but was not selected because he was unmarried; on being informed of which report, he said, "Will arguments in favour of celibacy never cease to accumulate?" Both were men absolutely devoid of ambition; but the later Joseph did not share the pessimism of the former.

In 1750 Butler was transferred from the poorest to the wealthiest of English sees, and became Bishop and Prince Palatine of Durham. It was proposed that the Lord-Lieutenancy of the County, which was part of the episcopal office, should be separated from the see, and given to a layman; and other arrangements were also suggested which Butler did not approve. He was appointed without condition, and the Lieutenancy was not separated till the next vacancy.

"During the short time he held the see," says Surtees, the historian of Durham, "he conciliated all hearts. In advanced years, and on the episcopal throne, he retained the same genuine modesty and native sweetness of disposition which had distinguished him in youth and in retirement. During the ministerial performance of the sacred office, a Divine animation seemed to pervade his whole manner,

and lighted up his pale, wan countenance, already marked with the progress of disease."

From another source we have a personal description: "He was of a most reverend aspect; his face thin and pale, but there was a Divine placidness in his countenance which inspired veneration and expressed the most benevolent mind. His white hair hung gracefully on his shoulders, and his whole figure was patriarchal."

Although the revenues of the see were enormous, he lived in a style of saintly simplicity. His private expenses were exceedingly small; he was unmarried; his relatives were well off; he gave away almost the whole of his income. When some great man came to dine with him, Butler apologised for the simplicity of his table—only two courses, and one plain dish at each—saying that this was what was right for his habits and office. Throughout his tenure he was consistently generous, improving Auckland Castle, receiving the principal gentry three times a week, subscribing largely to charities, and regularly visiting his clergy. In answer to some application for a subscription, he asked his steward how much money he had in the house. "Five hundred pounds,"

was the reply. "Five hundred pounds!" said Butler; "what a shame for a bishop to have so much money! Give it away! give it all to this gentleman for his charitable plan!"

In 1751 he gave his first Charge to the clergy of the diocese of Durham, on the importance of forms as a help to religion, on the maintenance of churches, and regular services. It begins with a melancholy note: "It is impossible for me, my brethren, upon our first meeting of this kind, to forbear lamenting with you the general decay of religion in this nation; which is now observed by every one, and has been for some time the complaint of all serious persons. The influence of it is more and more wearing out the minds of men, even of those who do not pretend to enter into speculations upon the subject; but the number of those who do, and who profess themselves unbelievers, increases, and with their numbers their zeal. Zeal! it is natural to ask—for what? Why, truly, *for* nothing, but *against* everything that is good and sacred amongst us."

A few passages from this Charge will illustrate Butler's position in matters where it is not commonly known:

1. *Preaching*.—"Your standing business, and

which requires constant attention, is with the body of the people ; to revive in them the spirit of religion, which is so much declining. And it may seem, that whatever reason there be for caution as to entering into any argumentative defence of religion *in common conversation*, yet that it is necessary to do this *from the pulpit*, in order to guard the people against being corrupted, how ever, in some places. But then surely it should be done in a manner as little controversial as possible. . . . To hear religion treated of, as what many deny, and which has much said against it as well as for it ; this cannot but have a tendency to give them ill impressions at any time ; and seems particularly improper for all persons at a time of devotion ; even for such as are arrived at the most settled state of piety :—I say, at a time of devotion, when we are assembled to yield ourselves up to the full influence of the Divine Presence, and to call forth into actual exercise every pious affection of heart. For it is to be repeated, that the heart and course of affections may be disturbed, when there is no alteration of judgment. Now, the evidence of religion may be laid before men without any air of controversy."

2. *Necessity of Forms, and of making them real.*—"Nor does the want of religion, in the generality of the common people, appear owing to a speculative disbelief, or denial of it, but chiefly to thoughtlessness, and the common temptations of life. Your chief business therefore is to endeavour to beget a practical sense of it upon their hearts, as what they acknowledge their belief of, and profess they ought to conform themselves to. And that is to be done, by keeping up, as well as we are able, the form and face of religion with decency and reverence, and in such a degree as to bring the thoughts of religion often to their minds; and then endeavouring to make this form more and more subservient *to promote the reality and power of it*. The form of religion may indeed be where there is little of the thing itself; but the thing itself cannot be preserved without the form."

3. *Neglect of the simple institutions of the Reformers.*—"Our reformers, considering that some of these (Roman Catholic) observances were in themselves wrong and superstitious, and others of them made subservient to the purposes of superstition, abolished them, reduced the form of religion to great simplicity, and

enjoined no more particular rules, nor left anything more of what was external in religion, than was, in a manner, necessary to preserve a sense of religion itself upon the minds of the people. But a great part of this is neglected by the generality amongst us; for instance, the service of the church, not only upon common days, but also upon saints' days; and several other things might be mentioned. Thus have they no customary admonition, no public call to recollect the thoughts of God and religion from one Sunday to another."

4. *The repair of churches.*—"Doubtless under this head must come into consideration a proper regard to the structures which are consecrated to the service of God. In the present turn of the age, one may observe a wonderful frugality in everything that has respect to religion, and extravagance in everything else. But amidst the appearances of opulence and improvement in all common things, it would be hard to find a reason why these monuments of ancient piety should not be preserved in their original beauty and magnificence. But in the least opulent places they must be preserved in becoming repair; and everything relating to the Divine service be, how ever, decent and

clean; otherwise we shall vilify the face of religion while we keep it up."

5. *Family prayers*.—"Since the body of the people, especially in country places, cannot be brought to attend (public service) oftener than one day in the week; and since this is in no sort enough to keep up in them a due sense of religion; it were greatly to be wished they could be persuaded to anything which might, in some measure, supply the want of more frequent public devotions, or serve the like purposes. *Family prayers, regularly kept up in every house, would have a great good effect.*"

6. *Mental daily prayer*.—"Truly, if besides our more set devotions, morning and evening, all of us would fix upon certain times of the day, so that the return of the hour should remind us, to say short prayers, or exercise our thoughts in a way equivalent to this; perhaps there are few persons in so high and habitual a state of piety as not to find the benefit of it. If it took up no more than a minute or two, or even less time than that, it would serve the end I am proposing; it would be a recollection that we are in the Divine presence, and contribute to our 'being in the fear of the Lord all the day long.'"

7. *Grace at meals.*—"A duty of the like kind, and serving to the same purpose, is the particular acknowledgment of God when we are partaking of His bounty at our meals. The neglect of this is said to have been scandalous to a proverb in the heathen world; but it is without shame laid aside at the tables of the highest and the lowest rank amongst us."

8. *Parents and children.*—"And as parents should be admonished, and it should be pressed upon their consciences, to teach their children their prayers and catechism, *it being what they are obliged to on all accounts*; so it is proper to be mentioned here, as a means by which they will bring the principle of Christianity often to their own mind, instead of laying aside all thoughts of it from week's end to week's end."

Of the rest of the life of this truly great and exemplary English bishop and philosopher there is little to tell. He had not been many months in the See of Durham before symptoms of decay disclosed themselves. He went to Bath in 1752 in the hope of recovering his health, where he died, June 16th, in the

sixtieth year of his age. He was buried in Bristol Cathedral.

Butler's system of ethical philosophy is thus summed up by Professor Ueberweg, of Königsberg: "These doctrines are practical rather than speculative in form, but are positive and well-argued propositions in opposition to Hobbes, Mandeville, Shaftesbury, and other free-thinkers :

" 1. Man is capable of disinterested affections.

" 2. Man is as social as truly as he is an individual being in his relations and susceptibilities.

" 3. Man is possessed of conscience, which by its very nature is endowed with authority, and in this particular differs from the other impulses and springs of action. This authority he defines still further as that obligation which is implied in the very idea of reflex approbation.

" 4. Virtue is activity according to nature, when nature is thus ideally interpreted as enforcing the natural supremacy of certain principles of action.

" 5. Conscience is a complex endowment, including both 'a sentiment of the understanding' and 'a perception of the heart.'

“6. Virtue, or a life according to (this true and ideal) nature or reason, does not consist solely of benevolence, but respects also our duties to ourselves; also the duties to others of truth and gratitude and justice.

“7. As there is a natural sentiment of interest in or compassion for others, so there is a natural tendency to resentment against those who injure us, called by Butler *sudden resentment*, which is provided to defend us against injury; when this is excessive or misdirected, it is called *deliberate resentment*.

“8. Man is capable of love to God—that is, of the several affections of reverence, gratitude, etc., which a good man would naturally exercise towards a moral person of infinite moral excellence.”

The same acute critic thus describes the *Analogy*: “The Analogy of Religion to the Constitution and Course of Nature was directed against the Free-thinkers of Butler’s time, whose positions he briefly describes in the advertisement and introduction. Its leading doctrine is that we find the same difficulties in the Scriptures which we find in the operations of nature, and this should lead us not only to reject all arguments against the

Scriptures which are founded on these difficulties, but to infer that probably both proceed from the same Author. It is divided into two parts. The first treats of Natural Religion, the second of Revealed. In the first the following topics are treated :

“ 1. A Future Life.

“ 2. The Government of God by Rewards and Punishments, and particularly the last.

“ 3. The Moral Government of God.

“ 4. A State of Probation as implying Trial, Difficulties, and Danger ; also as intended for Moral Discipline and Improvement.

“ 5. The Doctrine of Necessity considered as influencing Practice.

“ 6. The Incomprehensibleness of the Government of God considered as a Scheme or Constitution.

“ In the second part the following are the divisions :

“ 1. The Importance of Christianity.

“ 2. The Supposed Presumption against a Revelation considered as miraculous.

“ 3. Our incapacity to judge of what is to be expected in a Revelation, and the Credibility from Analogy that it must contain things appearing liable to objections.

"4. Christianity as a Scheme is imperfectly comprehended.

"5. The Appointment of a Mediator.

"6. The Want of Universality and supposed Deficiency in the Proof of Revelation.

"7. The particular Evidence for Christianity.

"8. The Objections against arguing from the Analogy of Nature to Religion, being the conclusion of both parts, and the application of the argument in both.

"A Dissertation on Personal Identity, and another on the Nature of Virtue, are appended to the Analogy, and are both succinct statements of arguments and considerations of the highest importance."

"The influence of Butler upon Ethical and Religious philosophy," says Professor Ueberweg, "has been powerful wherever the English language is spoken and read, and probably surpasses that of any other single writer. This is not owing to the originality of his doctrines, so much as to the compact form in which he has presented the reflections which had been suggested to many minds, and to the cautious and reverent spirit in which he mediates between the claims of independent

thought and a revealed communication of truth. His *Analogy* has been extensively studied and read as a text-book in all seminaries of higher learning, and has largely served to shape and strengthen the religious convictions of the English people. The Sermons, though less generally read or studied, have exerted a pervading influence upon ethical philosophy. The *Analogy* and Sermons have also been efficient in introducing into Christian theology the ethical element, which sometimes it has greatly needed."

The scope and effect of the *Analogy* have also been sketched by Henry Reeve, the Edinburgh Reviewer and author of the *Eclipse of Faith*¹: "The immortal *Analogy* has probably done more to silence the objections of infidelity than any other ever written from the earliest 'apologies' downwards. It not only most critically met the spirit of unbelief in the author's own day, but it is equally adapted to meet that which *chiefly* prevails in all time. In every age some of the principal, perhaps *the* principal, objections to the Christian Revelation have been those which men's *pre-*

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1860.

conceptions of the Divine character and administration—of what God *must* be, and what God *must* do—have suggested against certain facts in the sacred history, or certain doctrines it reveals. To show the objector, then (supposing him to be a Theist, as nine-tenths of all such objectors have been), that the very same or similar difficulties are found in the structure of the universe and the Divine administration of it, is to wrest every *such* weapon completely from his hands, if he be a fair reasoner, and remain a Theist at all. He is bound by strict logical obligation either to show that the parallel difficulties do *not* exist, or to show how he can solve them, while he *cannot* solve those of the Bible. In default of doing either of these things, he ought either to renounce all *such* objections to Christianity, or abandon Theism altogether. It is true, therefore, that though Butler leaves the alternative of Atheism open, he hardly leaves any other alternative to nine-tenths of the Theists who have objected to Christianity.”

As to Atheism: “He has, also, with his accustomed acuteness and judgment, shown that, even on the principles of Atheism itself, its

confident assumption that *if* its principles be granted, a future life—future misery, future happiness—is a dream, cannot be depended on; for since men have existed, they may again; and if in a bad condition now, in a worse hereafter. It is not, on any such hypothesis, a whit more unaccountable that man's life should be renewed or preserved, or perpetuated for ever, than that it should have been originated at all. On this point he truly says: 'That we are to live hereafter is just as reconcileable with the scheme of Atheism, and as well to be accounted for by it, as that we are now alive, is; and therefore nothing can be more absurd than to argue from that scheme, that there can be no future state.'"

To any one who has not read the *Analogy* or the *Sermons*, it must be obvious by this account that it discusses problems of the greatest possible moment. It has already been said that a direct and deliberate argument for the Being of God must be sought elsewhere; but when faith in that supreme principle has once been acknowledged, there is hardly any subject connected with religion and duty which is not analysed with penetrating acumen by Butler, and placed in its proper

position in the great scheme of religious thought. Butler should be read again and again. The style is not difficult; merely the language is exceedingly concise, and the reasoning close. Butler's argument, properly understood, is not only an enormous help against difficulty and doubt, but it is also a most wholesome and invaluable check to rashness, presumption, arrogance, Pharisaism, and disproportion in religious belief. There can hardly be a more bracing exercise either in close mental application, or in the strengthening of the logical faculty, or in the discipline of religious thought, than these powerful works on the greatest of all subjects. Butler wrote specially for his own generation; but he has left for all time a treasure-house of thought, help, suggestion, and reasoning. He has cleared the dust of prejudice away from before the steps to the throne of God, and taught men the proper spirit in which to approach the awful mystery of His Being and Revelation.

VI

WATERLAND

THE EXPOUNDER OF THE LORD'S SUPPER

DANIEL WATERLAND,¹ the standard exponent of the Church of England doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and the most eminent defender in the eighteenth century of orthodox teaching on the subject of the Divinity of our Lord, was born at Walesby, in the Lindsey division of Lincolnshire, on February 14th, 1683, nine years before the birth of Bishop Butler, and two years before the death of Charles II. He died December 23rd, 1740, shortly before the close of his fifty-seventh year, twelve years before the death of Bishop Butler.

He was the second son, by a second wife, of Henry Waterland, Rector of Walesby and of the neighbouring parish of Flixborough.

¹ The details of this sketch are taken from the *Biographia Britannica*, and from Bishop Van Mildert's *Introduction to Waterland's Works*.

His ability was shown early; he could read well at four. His first tutor was Mr. Sykes, curate of Flixborough; his father taught him grammar; and he went to school at Lincoln, under Samuel Garmstone and Anthony Reade. Here he displayed "uncommon diligence and talents"; besides his regular work, his masters asked him to do other exercises, which were so brilliant that they were "handed abroad for the honour of the school."

Soon after completing his sixteenth year, March 30th, 1699, he was admitted to Magdalene College, Cambridge. His tutor was Samuel Barker, "a very worthy gentleman." On December 24th, 1702, he obtained a scholarship; in the Lent term following he took his degree, B.A., and on February 15th, 1703, he was elected Fellow.

He became a "great support to the Society," took pupils, was alternately Tutor or Dean, and resided constantly in term time; the number of admissions greatly increased. In 1706 he became M.A.; and in 1713, on the death of Dr. Gabriel Quadring, the Master of the College, he was appointed his successor by Henry, sixth Earl of Suffolk and Earl of Bindon, in whose family the nomination lay. This right, on the

extinction of a branch of the House of Suffolk, subsequently passed through Lady Essex Howard, Baroness Griffin, of Braybrooke, daughter of the third Earl, to the Lords Braybrooke, with whom it now rests. Lord Suffolk also presented him to the rectory of Ellingham in Suffolk, almost the whole income of which he gave to his curate.

He was a zealous and diligent reader; Dean Cyril Jackson, of Christ Church, Oxford, used to say how his father, when an undergraduate at Magdalene, was accustomed to see the lights in his study burning till far on in the night. His health was much impaired, and his life probably shortened, by this intense application.

In 1710 he was Public Examiner for the first time, and again next year. About the same time he was member of many important University syndicates. In 1712 he preached the University Commemoration Sermon, the first in his published works; in 1713 the Assize Sermon before the University.

On his appointment as Master of Magdalene, he did not proceed to the degree of D.D. by *mandamus*, as was customary for Heads of Houses, but went through the usual exercises for both divinity degrees. His thesis for that of B.D. in 1714 was his celebrated treatise

Whether Arian Subscription was Lawful; he completely answered the Professor, Dr. James, who was bound to oppose him; and he was also happy in his other temporary opponent for the occasion, Dr. Sherlock, afterwards Bishop of London. "There were several members of the University of Oxford there, who remember the great applauses he received, and the uncommon satisfaction which he gave."

The men of the eighteenth century, whose leading principle was reasonableness, naturally entered into many and protracted religious controversies. There was the Deistical campaign, on the means of Revelation, the nature and authority of Holy Scripture, and the evidence of God's existence and dealings, in which the leading figures were Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Toland, Lord Shaftesbury, Collins, Woolston, Tindal, Chubb, and Bolingbroke. These were answered by Butler in his *Analogy*, Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses*, Berkeley's *Minute Philosopher*, and Leland's *View of the Deistical Writers*. This was followed, as might be expected, by the Trinitarian controversy; and it was in reference to this that Waterland entered the field of public disputation.

There are four principal heads under which

views on the mysterious subject of the Trinity may be ranged.

1. Christ is merely human : Socinianism.
2. Denial of the distinct personality of the Second and Third Persons of the Trinity : Sabellianism.
3. Christ more than man, but less than God : Arianism.
4. "There is but one living and true God," but "in the Unity of this Godhead there are Three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost": Catholicism—called by its opponents Athanasianism.

After the suppression of Arianism by Theodosius in the East, by Clovis in Gaul, and by Justinian in Africa and Italy, this great question remained substantially at rest till the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Faustus Socinus in Poland revived the heresy of the Ebionites and Cerinthians in the time of the Apostles, that Christ had no pre-existence before He was born of Mary. Towards the end of the century these opinions found their way into England by means of foreigners ; but at first their English representatives were men of little note. They produced Bishop Bull's great work *Defensio*

Fidei Nicænæ, a learned and powerful historical treatise in Latin, followed by his *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ* and *Primitiva et Apostolica Traditio*.

Dr. Sherlock, Dean of St. Paul's, entered on the same difficult ground, but with less success; his treatise was opposed by Dr. Wallis, Savilian Professor at Oxford, a most profound scholar, and censured by the University of Oxford as savouring of *Tritheism*. Dr. South, the famous preacher, as well as Dr. Wallis, criticised Dr. Sherlock; but they were both charged with leaning to *Sabellianism*. So much heat was imported into the controversy, that each party was restrained by Royal Authority from using new terms, and confined to those already sanctioned by the Church.

Cudworth's *Intellectual System* was held to favour Arianism. Stillingfleet, in his *Vindication of the Trinity*, kept to safe and solid ground. The real reviver of modern Arianism in England was Dr. Samuel Clarke, whose *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* was long a text-book of the Arians. He collected 1,251 texts bearing on the nature of the Godhead, and explained them on the principle that the Father alone is the one supreme God; the Son is a Divine

being as far as divinity is communicable by this supreme God; and the Holy Ghost is inferior both to the Father and to the Son, not in order only, but in dominion and authority.

As Dr. Clarke had been a theologian of repute, these positions were indeed startling. Dr. Wells complained that he had neglected the Old Testament, failed to show how the true sense of Scripture was to be obtained, and disparaged alike creeds, confessions of faith, and fathers. Mr. Nelson, Founder of the S.P.C.K., justly criticised his unfair treatment of Bishop Bull. Dr. Gastrell, afterwards Bishop of Chester, pointed out that, out of Dr. Clarke's fifty-one propositions, there was only one that an Arian would refuse to subscribe.

With reference to the Liturgy of the Church of England, and to public formularies of faith in general, Clarke had assumed as a maxim "That every person may reasonably agree to such forms, whenever he can *in any sense at all* reconcile them with Scripture." It was in reference to this dangerous and subversive position that Waterland propounded his thesis for his B.D. degree, *Whether Arian Subscription was Lawful*.

On November 14th, 1715, he was elected

Vice-Chancellor according to the usual rotation, when he was only in his thirty-third year. During his tenure of office he had the pleasure of receiving from King George I., for the University collection, Bishop Moore's library of thirty thousand volumes, for which £6,000 had been paid by the Crown. In the housing and arrangement of the books he took great personal interest. He also protected the University graduates in medicine from being required to obtain a licence from the College of Physicians before practising in London. The conflict between Whigs and Tories, Hanoverians and Jacobites, found loud echo in the University. On King George's birthday, in 1715, the undergraduates had made great disturbances; the preceding Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Sherlock, a Tory, was supposed rather to connive; but Waterland, a staunch Hanoverian, took measures to allay these troubles. On the day after his election, November 5th, 1715, Dr. Bentley preached his celebrated sermon against Popery at St. Mary's. Another sermon on the same subject in January next year was printed by desire of the Vice Chancellor. In the same year an address of congratulation to the King was carried through the Senate on the suppression of the Rebellion

in Scotland. "The fury of the whole disaffected and Jacobite party here," writes Dr. Bentley, "against me and Mr. Waterland is unexpressible: one would think that the late Address had given them a mortal blow, by the desperate rage they are in." Waterland's moderation and good temper appear, says Bishop Van Mildert, to have protected him in this affair against much of that obloquy and ill-will which were so strongly shown towards Bentley. And probably it was in consequence of his conduct on this occasion that he was, in the year following, 1717, appointed to be one of the Chaplains to the King. Waterland himself strongly deprecated clerical interference in politics and parties. In the Thanksgiving Sermon he preached this year he said: "As there are none more sensible of these things than ourselves, or more likely to suffer by them; so I beg leave to intimate how becoming and proper a part of our profession and business it is to do what in us lies to prevent the growth and increase of them. While animosities prevail, arts and sciences will gradually decay, and lose ground; not only as wanting suitable encouragement, but also as being deprived of that freedom, quiet, and repose, which are necessary to raise and encourage them. As divisions increase,

Christian charity will decline daily, till it becomes an empty name, or an *idea* only. Discipline will of course slacken and hang loose; and the consequence of that must be, a general dissoluteness and corruption of manners. Nor will the enemy be wanting to sow tares to corrupt our faith, as well as practice, and to introduce a general latitude of opinions. *Arianism, Deism, Atheism*, will insensibly steal upon us, while our hearts and heads run after politics and parties."

Early in 1717 Dr. Bentley was elected Regius Professor of Divinity, on the death of Dr James. It is stated in the *Biographia Britannica* (on the authority of Waterland's elder brother) that Waterland was generally pointed out as the fittest person to fill the chair; but that he was prevented from exerting his interest to obtain the situation by his esteem for Dr. Bentley. This year George I. visited Cambridge and created thirty-two Doctors of Divinity, three of them being Heads of Houses, of whom Waterland was one. Waterland's friendship for Bentley was severely tried on this occasion. Bentley demanded a large additional fee for himself as Regius Professor of Divinity from each of the other twenty-nine newly made Doctors on ac-

count of the royal visit. He was first suspended by the Vice-Chancellor, and then degraded by a vote of the Senate. Waterland seems to have avoided taking any active part. The contest ended in 1724 by the restoration of Bentley, on the recommendation of a syndicate of which Waterland was a member.

The remaining acts of Waterland in connection with the University, such as the vindication of the dignity and validity of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Lambeth Degrees, against the attack of Bishop Gastrell of Chester; the thanks of the University to Heneage, fourth Earl of Nottingham, for his treatise on the Trinity against Whiston; his defence of the rights of the University Press; his protection of the jurisdiction of the University against civic encroachments,—all exhibit him as a leading character at Cambridge, zealous for the best interests of the University, unremitting in active service on its behalf; as a person generally looked up to by his contemporaries, and one whose judgment, temper, and talents for business, as well as his learning and zeal, entitled him to the fullest confidence.

His early treatise against Arian subscription was followed in 1719 by a more important

work, the *Vindication of Christ's Divinity*. His hand had been somewhat forced by a country clergyman, John Jackson, who had submitted questions to him, obtained answers, and then insisted on publishing the correspondence. There is not space here to follow the great Trinitarian controversy; it is enough to quote Bishop Van Mildert's encomium, that the work brought Waterland into high estimation. It manifested a vigorous understanding, acute discernment, laborious research, a clear conception even of the most intricate points, and a complete mastery of his whole subject. It obtained for him general confidence as a fit leader in the cause he had undertaken; and notwithstanding the acknowledged ability of many who had already entered the list on the same side, it seemed as if all were willing to transfer to him its chief direction.

In 1719 he was appointed by Dr. Robinson, Bishop of London, to preach eight sermons on the Divinity of our Lord, by a new foundation of Lady Moyer. They were delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral. The author regarded them as a Supplement to his *Vindication*, and strengthening the arguments already adopted.

Of the rest of his more important works it

is impossible to give more than the titles, excepting those on the Eucharist, from which it is important to supply some short quotations. They are published by Bishop Van Mildert in the following order :

1720. Answer to Dr. Whitby.

1721. The Case of Arian Subscription considered.

1722. A Supplement to the above.

1723. A Second Vindication of Christ's Divinity.

1730-32. Scripture vindicated : in answer to Tindal's *Christianity as Old as the Creation*.

1730. Advice to a Young Student.

1740. Regeneration stated and explained according to Scripture and Antiquity.

1724. A Farther Vindication of Christ's Divinity.

1723. A Critical History of the Athanasian Creed.

The Scriptures and the Arians compared.

1734. The Argument *a priori* for proving the Existence of a First Cause.

1734. The Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

1723. Remarks upon Dr. Clarke's Exposition of the Church Catechism.

1730. The Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy of the Christian Sacraments considered.

Supplement to the above.

1737. A Review of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.

1731. Charges: 1. The Wisdom of the Ancients borrowed from Divine Revelation.

1732. „ 2. Christianity vindicated against Infidelity.

1735. „ 3 and 4. Discourse on Fundamentals.

1736. „ 5. Doctrinal Use of the Christian Sacraments.

1738. „ 6. The Christian Sacrifice explained.

1739. „ 7. The Sacramental Part of the Eucharist explained.

1740. „ 8. Distinctions of Sacrifice.

Six Occasional Sermons, including one on Religious Education.

Thirty-three Sermons on several important subjects of Religion and Morality.

Summary View of the Doctrine of
Justification.

Inquiry concerning the Antiquity of
the Practice of Infant Communion.

Letters on Lay Baptism.

Various Series of Letters on important
subjects to different Correspondents.

Soon after the publication (1720) of the Eight Sermons preached at St. Paul's Cathedral on Lady Moyer's Foundation, he was presented by the Dean and Chapter to the rectory of St. Augustine and St. Faith, in St. Paul's Churchyard. The Dean was at that time Dr. Godolphin, Provost of Eton, and among the Residentiaries were Dr. Stanley, Dean of St. Asaph, and Dr. Hare, afterwards Bishop of Chichester. This year he also preached the anniversary sermon at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy. He only kept the rectory a few years, not long enough to become President of Sion College.

Two years later a compliment was paid him in the Northern Province. He was appointed Chancellor of the diocese of York by Sir William Dawes, the Archbishop. In 1727, on the recommendation of Lord Townshend, Secretary of State, and Dr. Gibson, Bishop of

London, the King gave him the interesting and agreeable post of Canon of Windsor. In 1730 the Dean and Chapter of Windsor made him Vicar of Twickenham, in Middlesex, on which he resigned the rectory of St. Augustine and St. Faith, in the City of London. In the same year Bishop Gibson, of London, made him Archdeacon of Middlesex, in which capacity he delivered, as Charges to the Clergy, some of his most important works on the Eucharist.

He now had ten years of life before him, and passed his time in an atmosphere of ceaseless intellectual and ecclesiastical activity. "His residence was pretty equally divided between Windsor, Twickenham, and Cambridge; and his labours in religion and literature were carried on with unabated ardour. . . . Yet in the midst of these almost incessant avocations we are assured by his personal friends (and his letters bear testimony to the same effect) that he was not averse from habits of social intercourse, but freely cultivated and improved his acquaintance with those around him, and found leisure to assist and encourage others in every laudable undertaking."

In 1734 the clergy of the Lower House of

the Convocation of Canterbury determined to make him their Prolocutor; but owing to his sedentary habits and the uncertain state of his health (as he says in his letters) he could not undertake it. The Archdeacon of London, Dr. Cobden, had already prepared the speech to be delivered on presenting him to the Upper House, and afterwards printed it, with some other works, in a volume. "Whom ought we to appoint more fitted to this office, what better champion could we find, than he who has so often toiled in the theological arena, and has brought back such great trophies from all the bands of the enemies of Christ? him, I mean, the most celebrated defender of the Articles of the Church of England, that is of the Catholic Faith; I had almost said a second Athanasius?"

He was also offered the See of Llandaff, either in 1738 or 1740; but the same reasons which made him decline the Prolocutorship were even more decisive against a Bishopric.

At Easter, in 1740, he delivered his last Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Middlesex; and from that time till July he was stationary in the Master's Lodge at Cambridge. He thus describes his life in a letter

dated July 6th, 1740: "It will not be long before I must return to Twickenham, there to stay for a month or two in the neighbourhood of the town. In the mean season I am here, in an agreeable situation, amidst plenty of books, printed and manuscript, entertaining myself, and serving distant friends in a literary way. We have lately lost here an excellent man, who lived and died in that pleasurable kind of toil: I am just come from hearing a fine panegyric of him from St. Mary's pulpit. Mr. Baker is the person I mean, as you would have imagined without my naming him. He lived to a great age, but so lived as to make it necessary for those he leaves behind him to think he died too soon."

In five months he was himself dead. Not long after his Easter visitation, "a complaint which he had many years too much neglected (the nail growing into one of his great toes) obliged him in July to call in the assistance of a surgeon at Cambridge (Mr. Lunn), under whose hands finding no relief, and his pain still increasing, he removed to London, and put himself under the care of Mr. Cheselden. But it was now too late. A bad habit of body, contracted by too intense an application

to his studies, rendered a recovery impossible; and after undergoing several painful operations, to which he submitted without reluctance, and bore with an exemplary patience, everything tending to a mortification, he expired with the same composure that he had lived, December 23rd in that year.”¹

His curate, Mr. Seed, who preached his funeral sermon, thus describes him: “The meek and candid Christian was not lost in *the disputes of this world*. I never saw him in a different humour—no, not in his last illness. The same unaffected cheerfulness, the same evenness and sedateness, which was his distinguishing character, appeared from the first commencement of our acquaintance to the last. . . . He was very amiable in a domestic light. Though he felt great uneasiness, he gave none but what arose from a fellow-feeling of his sufferings. Even then, humane and benevolent to all about him, but especially to her with whom he had lived in an uninterrupted harmony for twenty-one years; bringing forth valuable things out of the good treasures of his head and heart; communicative of anything that

¹ *Biographia Britannica*.

was good, he would have engrossed nothing to himself, but his sufferings."

His body was buried, by his own request, in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, in a small adjunct on the south side, called Bray's Chapel, under a plain black marble slab, with his arms and this simple inscription: "Daniel Waterland, S.T.P. Hujus Ecclesiæ Canonicus, ob. Decemb. xxiii. MDCCXL., ætat. LVII." His widow survived him many years. She was Jane, daughter of John Tregonwell, Esq., of Anderston, Dorset, of an old family, one of whom, Sir John Tregonwell, lived in the reign of Henry VIII. They were married in 1719, and she died on December 8th, 1761. They left no issue.

Archbishop Potter paid him a very high tribute at the opening of Convocation in 1741. "I seem to see the adversaries retiring, and although reluctant and unwilling, yet not obscurely confessing the force of truth. Certainly, already has that Arian impiety almost become dumb, which a few years ago had so insolently reared its head, that it did not fear openly to boast (vain augury!) that in a short time not more would be found to defend the Nicene faith than any obsolete dogmas of Calvin."

"The full extent," says Bishop Van Mildert,

“of the obligations which the Church owed, and still owes, to his labours, it is not easy to calculate ; since besides their own intrinsic value, they have doubtless contributed greatly to form the principles, and to direct the judgment, of many distinguished writers who have succeeded him. No controversial writings, perhaps, have done more for the general good in this respect. It is characteristic of them that they treat of the most profound subjects, not only with great powers of reasoning and great extent of knowledge, but also with a perspicuity which never leaves it doubtful what impression was intended to be left upon the reader's mind, and with a just confidence in the strength of his cause which sets the author above every unworthy artifice to persuade or convince others.”

“He was,” says Mr. Seed,¹ “very tender of men's characters : he guided his words, as well as regulated his actions, with discretion ; and at the same time that his sagacity enabled him to discover, his charity prompted him to *cover and conceal a multitude of faults*. . . . He was a man of cool wisdom and steady piety ; fixed in his principles, but candid in his spirit ; easy of

¹ Funeral Sermon.

access, his carriage free and familiar ; cautious, but not artful ; honest, but not unguarded ; glad to communicate, though not ambitious to display his great knowledge. He hated all *party* as such ; and would never have gone the length of any. He was not one of those narrow-spirited men, who confine all merit within their own pale : he thought candidly, and spoke advantageously, of many who thought very differently from him. He had nothing violent in his nature : he abhorred all thoughts of persecution : cool and prudential measures entirely suited his frame of mind."

" This happy disposition," says the *Biographia Britannica*, " recommended him to the notice of the late Queen Caroline, before whom, when Princess of Wales, he held some conferences with Dr. Clarke ; and though these dropped after our author declared his full conviction of the truth and the importance of the doctrine of the Trinity, and his resolution to maintain it, yet there continued a personal friendly acquaintance between them till the death of Dr. Clarke, who, in one of his last journeys to Norwich, paid a visit to Dr. Waterland at Cambridge."

I.

The True Sense in which the Eucharist is a Sacrifice.

“The service, therefore, of the Eucharist, on the foot of ancient Church language, is both a true and a proper sacrifice, and the noblest that we are capable of offering, *when considered as comprehending under it many true and evangelical sacrifices*: 1. The Sacrifice of Alms to the Poor, and Oblations to the Church, which, when religiously intended, and offered through Christ, is a Gospel Sacrifice. Not that the material offering is a sacrifice to God, for it goes entirely to the use of man; but the service is what God accepts. 2. The Sacrifice of Prayer, from a pure heart, is evangelical incense. 3. The Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving to God the Father, through Christ Jesus our Lord, is another Gospel Sacrifice. 4. The Sacrifice of a Penitent and Contrite Heart, even under the Law (and now much more under the Gospel, when explicitly offered through Christ), was a Sacrifice of the New Covenant. . . . 5. The Sacrifice of Ourselves, our Souls and Bodies, is another Gospel Sacrifice. 6. The offering up of the mystical

body of Christ, that is, His Church, is another Gospel Sacrifice : or rather, it is coincident with the former ; excepting that there persons are considered in their single capacity, and here collectively in a body. I take the thought from St. Austin, who grounds it chiefly on 1 Cor. x. 17. . . . 7. The Offering up of True Converts, or sincere penitents, to God, by their pastors, who have laboured successfully in the blessed work, is another very acceptable Gospel Sacrifice. 8. *The Sacrifice of Faith and Hope, and Self-humiliation, in commemorating the Grand Sacrifice, and resting finally upon it*, is another Gospel Sacrifice, and eminently proper to the Eucharist.”¹

II.

“ *This Do* ” not “ *This Sacrifice.* ”

“ The plea from *hoc facite*, when first set up, was abundantly answered by a very learned Romanist : I mean the excellent Picherell, who wrote about 1562, and died in 1590. Protestants also have often confuted it ; and the Papists themselves, several of them, have long ago given it up.”²

¹ *The Eucharist considered in a Sacrificial View*, chap. xii.

² *The Christian Sacrifice explained*, Appendix, chap. iii.

III.

In what Sense the Eucharist is Not a Sacrifice.

“ No one has any right to offer Christ as a sacrifice (whether really or symbolically), but Christ Himself. . . . 1. If Christ in the institution offered Himself under these symbols (which, however, does not appear), He might have a right to do it : we have none, *and so can only commemorate what He did*, and by the same symbols. 2. If we symbolically offer anything in the Eucharist, it is only in such a sense as St. Austin speaks of ; where he considers the bread and wine as symbols of the united body of the Church. We may symbolically offer up, or sacrifice, ourselves, but that is all : more than that cannot comport with Scripture, or with the principles of the ancients, that all our sacrifices are made in and by Christ. He is not the matter or subject of our Sacrifices, but the Mediator of them : we offer not Him, but we offer what we do offer by Him. 3. If the thing symbolically offered in the Eucharist were Christ Himself, then the offerer or offerers must stand in the place of Christ, and be as truly the symbols of Christ in their offering capacity as the elements are supposed

to be in their sacrificial capacity. Then not only the priests, but the whole Church, celebrating the Eucharist, must symbolically represent the person of Christ, and stand in His stead: a notion which has no countenance in Scripture or antiquity, but is plainly contradicted by the whole turn and tenor of the ancient Liturgies, as well as by the plain nature and reason of the thing.

4. I may add, lastly, that all the confusion in this article [point] seems to arise from the want of distinguishing the sacrificial part of the Eucharist from a sacramental one, as before noted: *we do not offer Christ to God in the Eucharist, but God offers Christ to us in return for our offering ourselves. We commemorate the grand sacrifice, but do not reiterate it; no not so much as under symbols* But God applies it by those symbols or pledges: and so, though there is no symbolical sacrifice of that kind, neither can be, yet there is a symbolical grant, and a symbolical banquet, which is far better, and which most effectually answers all purposes. In short, there is, as the Apostle assures us, a *communion* of Christ's body and blood, in the Eucharist, to every *worthy* receiver." ¹

¹ *The Eucharist considered in a Sacrificial Point of View*, chap. xii.

IV.

In what Metaphorical Sense Ministers may be called Priests.

“From hence likewise may we understand in what sense the officiating authorised *ministers* perform the office of proper evangelical *priests* in this service. They do it three ways: 1. As *commemorating* in solemn form the same sacrifice here below which Christ our High Priest commemorates above. 2. As handing up (if I may so speak) *those prayers and those services* of Christians to Christ our Lord, who as High Priest recommends the same to God the Father. 3. As offering up to God all the *faithful* who are under their care and ministry, and who are sanctified by the Spirit. In these three ways the Christian officers are priests, or liturges, to very excellent purpose, far above the *legal* ones, in a sense worth the contending for, and worth the pursuing with the utmost zeal and assiduity.”¹

“The whole body of Christian people are equally sacrificers, though the clergy only are commissioned to preside and officiate in a

¹ *Eucharist considered in a Sacrificial View*, chap. xii.

public character. The sacrifice is the common sacrifice of the whole body, and so the name of sacrificer is also common: but the leading part, the administration of the sacrifice, is appropriate to the commissioned officers; and so are also the names of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons.”¹

V.

Holy Scripture.

“Scripture alone is our complete rule of faith and manners, containing all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary for salvation.”

“Whatever Scripture contains, either *in express words* rightly understood, or *by consequence* justly deduced, is *Scripture doctrine*, and ought to be religiously believed and obeyed; allowing only for the different degrees of *importance* belonging to different Scripture truths, or Scripture precepts. For the right understanding of Scripture, it is of great

¹ *Distinctions of Sacrifice.*

moment to know what the most *eminent* writers, or teachers, ancient and modern, have thought before us on the same subject; and more especially to observe what they unanimously *agreed in*. For as they had the same *Scriptures* before them, and the same *common reason* to direct them, and used as much *care* and *diligence*, and were blessed with as great *integrity* as any of us can now justly pretend to, their judgment is not to be slighted, nor their instructions to be despised." ¹

¹ *Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, Introduction.

VII

JOHN WESLEY

THE EVANGELIST OF THE MASSES

JOHN WESLEY was born at Epworth in Lincolnshire, at his father's vicarage, in 1703, in the first year of the reign of Queen Anne, about six years before the completion of St. Paul's Cathedral, and fifty-eight years after the death of Archbishop Laud. He belonged to the same family as the Wesleys of Dangan in Ireland, one of whom, Garret Wesley, left his estate at that place to his first cousin (the son of his maternal uncle), Richard Colley, or Cowley, on condition of his taking the name of Wesley. Richard Colley, or Wesley, created Lord Mornington, was grandfather of the illustrious Duke of Wellington. Thus (after undergoing a slight change in the spelling) the name associated with the apostolical labours of the great preacher became ennobled in the person of the greatest of warriors, although

in the Mornington and Wellington families there was not a drop of Wesley blood. The preacher's own branch was settled in Dorsetshire, had affinities with the University of Oxford, and gave many ministers to the Church.

Samuel, the father, was a servitor at Exeter College, Oxford, severed himself from the Puritans, to whom his family had belonged for two generations, married Susanna, daughter of Dr. Annesley, an ejected clergyman, and worked as a High Churchman. The mother was a woman of high character, strong will, earnest piety, and great ability, and to her influence her children owed a lasting debt. The children who lived to grow up were three sons—Samuel (master at Westminster School), John, and Charles the hymn-writer—and three daughters. The chief reminiscences of John's childhood are the fire at the vicarage when he was with difficulty saved from the nursery window, and the story of the Epworth ghost.

John went to school at Charterhouse, where he was diligent, studious, and well behaved, and in 1720, his eighteenth year, matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford. Having been often obliged to give up some of his food to older

boys at school in accordance with the bullying customs then in vogue, he had formed very abstemious habits. At college he studied abstinence as a medical question; it suited his finances, the poverty of the family, and his own love for seclusion, study, and thought.

It was the wish of his father and the family that led him first to think of taking Orders; the father was in failing health, and needed help. A difficulty about the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed was surmounted by paternal counsel. An influence was also created by the *Imitation of Christ*, and by Jeremy Taylor's devotional works. He began to find religious friends. The tendency of his life was altered.

In 1725 he was admitted deacon by Potter, Bishop of Oxford, afterwards Primate, whom he calls "a great and good man." Potter's advice he recalled long after: "not to spend his time in contending for or against things of a disputable nature, but in testifying against vice, and in promoting real essential holiness." The pulpit in which he preached his first sermon is preserved at the little church of South Leigh, near Witney. In March 1726, as a native of Lincolnshire, he was elected to a

fellowship at Lincoln College, and in November of the same year became Greek Lecturer and "moderator of the classes" in the college. Disputations were held daily, and he acquired great expertness in arguing and exposition.

1727 was a critical year. He read Law's *Serious Call* and *Christian Perfection*. Feeling that he had been too much of a mere moralist, depending mainly on forms and observances, he said: "I was convinced more than ever of the impossibility of being half a Christian, and determined to be all devoted to God, and to give Him all my soul, my body, and my substance." More than before he studied the Bible; he longed for the mind that was in Christ, and for the first time understood religion to be "inward and outward conformity to the Master." He now insisted on a high standard of religious consecration and personal holiness, both active and passive. He presently united with these views not a little of the High Church doctrine and discipline.¹ "The light flowed in so mightily on his soul that everything appeared in a new view."

The same year, in July, he was admitted

¹ Rigg's *Wesley*, p. 22.

presbyter by the same bishop, while serving in one of his father's two little parishes, called Wroote. In 1729, at the urgent request of Dr. Morley, Rector of Lincoln, he returned to his tutorial duties at Oxford, where he remained for six years. Irreligious opinions were abroad in the country and even amongst the clergy. Three undergraduates had been expelled for Deism; a learned, conscientious, and religious teacher such as Wesley was much needed.

At the close of the previous century the well-known "Societies for the Reformation of Manners" had sprung up in various places for the correction of profligacy, ignorance, and irreligion. Robert Nelson was one of their warmest supporters. The foundation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1699, in which he shared, was part of this movement. One of these societies existed at Oxford, chiefly amongst undergraduates. It was sometimes called the "Godly Club," sometimes the "Sacramentarian." Whitefield, then a servitor at Pembroke, seeing the members forcing their way through a ridiculing crowd to take Communion at St. Mary's, joined them. Until John Wesley's return from Lincolnshire, his brother Charles was the most prominent

member. John was now chosen leader. They were from twenty to thirty in number; they received the Communion every Sunday, and during the week took opportunities for visiting the poor, the workhouse, the gaol, the school, and for engaging in other works of charity. John limited his personal expenditure to £30 a year, and his hours of sleep to five, rising every morning at 4 a.m. Among other nicknames the term "Methodist" was applied to this society, from its strictness in observing the rules and rubrics of the Church; and the word has remained as the proper legal designation of that vast and world-wide society which was founded by the club's two most prominent members.

About this time (1732) he wrote his sermon on the Eucharist, which he republished fifty years later, and in a letter to his mother defined his view on the subject: disavowing transubstantiation and consubstantiation, he held a union of God with the believer in that sacrament, the manner of the union being a mystery. At this time he also became personally acquainted with William Law. "His philosophy and theology," says Dr. Rigg, "were permanently elevated and enriched through the

familiarity which he had gained with some at least of the writers to whom Law had introduced him, as well as through the direct influence of Law himself."

The family wishing the father to resign and John to be appointed Vicar of Epworth, he wrote to his father explaining that his opportunities for evangelistic work were greater at Oxford than in a small country parish; and on consulting the Bishop, the Bishop replied: "It doth not seem to me that at your ordination you engaged yourself to undertake the cure of any parish, provided you can as a clergyman better serve God and His Church in your present or some other station." The father having died, Dr. Burton of Corpus, who had long taken an interest in the colony of Georgia, asked John and Charles to go there as mission clergy. In 1735 they started under the leadership of General Oglethorpe, Charles going as the General's secretary, John for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which had been founded thirty-four years before. The brothers were just the rising, eager, conscientious, self-denying, able young Churchmen who would be selected.

On board the ship were thirty German

Moravian emigrants, headed by their bishop, Nitschmann, and bringing their wives and families. Wesley was struck by their Christian conduct, simplicity of mind and life, and by the contrast between their fearless calm in an awful storm and the shrieks of the English. In their discipline, obedience, courage, fidelity, earnestness, and singleness of heart, he found people whose conversation was in heaven. He began to learn German, and longed to see more of the Moravians.

Their station was Savannah in Georgia, and the mission was not successful. The Wesleys were "unworldly and precise, destitute of tact, firm even to obstinacy, and at that time unfit for rough work on uncultivated soil."¹ They insisted on immersion in baptism; they required sponsors to be communicants; they refused Communion to those who had received either irregular or lay baptism, and to those who had sent no previous notice; they divided the usual old-fashioned morning service into separate portions. These pedantries gave universal offence. Charles quickly returned to England. John remained another year. But a climax

¹ Umlin, p. 30.

came when he refused Communion to a young person who had jilted him. The enraged father embodied all the accumulated complaints in an accusation of twelve counts, which he brought before the local court. Nothing was done ; but Wesley found the position intolerable, and in November 1737 determined to return to England. At this time he was in a state of morbid depression at his failure. A frightful storm at sea brought home to him the fear of death. He even dreaded that he did not possess true Christian faith.

Landing at Deal at the end of the year, he joined Charles in London, and sought out the Moravians in the metropolis. May 1738 was a memorable month for the brothers. They made the acquaintance of Peter Bohler, an earnest young Moravian immigrant, whom Law described as "an extraordinary good young man," who impressed them with his views, and added so greatly to their spiritual fervour that the effect seemed like a second and more real conversion. The principal point was that living faith is always given in a moment, and that its recipient is conscious of a great and vital change, without which consciousness he is no true Christian. Law, when consulted,

thought this an exaggeration, and contrary to the teaching of the Gospel, especially to the text, "If any man will come after Me, let him take up his cross and follow Me." Wesley afterwards admitted that he had possessed saving faith before ; but Bohler certainly touched his heart with an electric spark, and Wesley had henceforth a far larger share of the Holy Spirit than in his former life. It was on May 24th. He attended St. Paul's Cathedral in the afternoon, where the anthem was "Out of the deep I have called." In the evening, at a Church society for reading the Bible, while he was studying the Epistle to the Romans, a deep peace fell on his soul. Bohler recommended him to preach as often as he could. But his sermons were too unconventional and burning for the London clergy ; invitations became fewer ; and he resolved to visit Herrnhut, the headquarters of Moravianism. "The witness of the Spirit," he said at this time, "I have not, but I wait patiently for it." The Moravian "full assurance" he disclaimed, but felt sure of "a measure of faith."

The visit to Herrnhut and Zinzendorf was full of interest and encouragement, and Wesley returned refreshed to London in September.

On his arrival he preached at St. George's-in-the-East, St. Antholin's, and the Savoy. To some the teaching of the brothers seemed strange doctrine, and they had an interview with Gibson, Bishop of London. "If by assurance," said the Bishop, "you mean an inward persuasion whereby a man is conscious in himself, after examining his life by the law of God, and weighing his own sincerity, that he is in a state of salvation and acceptable, I do not see how any good Christian can be without such assurance." The Bishop was very kind, and promised to listen to no prejudiced stories against them. At a second interview he was still friendly and fatherly, speaking of Whitefield as "pious and well-meaning, but too enthusiastic." Archbishop Potter, formerly Bishop of Oxford, now become Primate, also gave them sympathetic advice.

The Wesleys now preached frequently in London—John especially at Islington Church. The religious club to which they belonged, which was somewhat under Moravian influences, met in Fetter Lane. The brethren there sent him to preach in Bristol. The Bristol visit led to the first erection of a "preaching-house" (that was the name used), and to Wesley's first

sermon in the open air. Then came a crisis. The Moravians began to make light of worship, ordinances, even the study of Holy Scripture. Separation between them and the Methodists was only a question of time. On July 20th, 1740, Wesley read a paper of differences between his views and the Moravians, and then left the room. In 1763 he wrote: "I have not for many years thought a consciousness of acceptance essential to justifying faith." His opinions of the Moravians were greatly changed. Some were "simple and artless," their teachers "no better than Protestant Jesuits; Zinzendorf half an impostor, potent for mischief"; even Bohler was guilty of "profane balderdash." Before Bohler's death in 1775 he received an affectionate letter from Wesley.

The visit to Bristol (the year 1739 was chiefly spent there) brought him to the Kingswood collieries in its neighbourhood. Here he continued a mission to the colliers begun by Whitefield (who had gone to America), and started open-air preaching. This raised the question as to his future life. Was he to settle down in one place, or journey about evangelising wherever the Spirit seemed to call him? Church order, he decided, which forbade in-

trusion into other parishes, must be disregarded at a time of prevailing wickedness, with which the Church was quite unable to grapple: "God commands me, according to my power, to instruct the ignorant and reform the wicked. . . . *I look upon all the world as my parish*; thus far, I mean, that in whatever part of it I am, I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty to declare unto all that are willing to hear the glad tidings of salvation."

The state of the masses in England at this time was deplorable. Nothing that the Wesleys and Whitefield could do would be too much to bring them back to a sense of religion and the fear of God. Oliver Goldsmith wrote thus: "No person who has travelled will contradict me when I aver that the lower orders of mankind in other countries testify on every occasion the profoundest awe of religion, while in England they are scarcely awakened to a sense of its duties, even in circumstances of the greatest distress. This dissolute and fearless conduct foreigners are apt to attribute to climate and constitution. May not the vulgar being pretty much neglected in our exhortations from the pulpit be a conspiring cause? Our divines seldom stoop to their mean capacities; and they

who want instruction most find least in our religious assemblies." A committee of the House of Lords sat to inquire into the present notorious immorality and profaneness. The evidence was such that some of it could not be printed. They found a greater neglect of worship and a greater desecration of Sunday than had ever been known in England. Idleness, gambling, intoxication, had increased alarmingly. Beyond a full measure of crimes of the kind found all over Europe, England had special disorders of her own—luxury, profanity, open apostasy from the Christian faith.¹

The phenomena of violent agonies or convulsions which accompanied the fervent sermons of the three great mission preachers certainly alarmed the bishops. Bishop Butler expressed his disapproval to John Wesley at Bristol, Bishop Gibson gave a warning against certain extravagant utterances of Whitefield in London, and other learned men grew alarmed. But the work was steadily developing. It drew into itself the religious societies scattered up and down the country, and so merited the name commonly

¹ Tyerman's *Wesley*, pp. 174, 503.

given it in the last century—"The United Societies." From 1739 large simple preaching-houses began to be erected, as rooms became too small for the crowds, and it was not always possible to preach in the open air. Wesley bought an extensive ruinous shed in Windmill Street, Finsbury Square, formerly used for the casting of guns, known as the Foundry. This became his headquarters, the centre of London Methodism. Here he lived when in London for more than thirty years.

He impressed his own early habits on his followers. Daily the bell rang for early service at 5 a.m., and again at nine in the evening. On Sundays the hours were arranged not to interfere with Church worship. Methodists were all expected to attend their churches, especially when there was Communion. Of certain infringements of this rule Wesley said: "We have profited nothing by our service in Church hours. . . . I do not know that it has done more good [*i.e.*, increased our usefulness] anywhere in England."

About this time occurred an inevitable divergence between the Calvinists who followed Whitefield and the Arminians under the Wesleys. Whitefield held in the strictest sense to Election

and Predestination ; Wesley protested against "the decrees." After a prolonged controversy, in 1741 the two separate camps were formed. The Calvinist Methodists have been strong in Wales. Those who held with Wesley that all men may be saved if they will are strong in England.

In 1740-42 Wesley was engaged in completing his discipline, reorganising the "classes" into which his adherents were divided, and appointing leaders. The leaders collected a weekly contribution from each member of a class.

Finding some of the clergy doubtful about admitting them to their churches, Wesley addressed them thus : "We do not desire any of you to let us preach in your church, either if you believe us to preach false doctrine, or if you have the least scruple." But their inability to preach in the churches left them, as they considered, no choice but to preach in the open air or in private houses. At Sheffield the mob pulled down the preaching-house on the visit of Charles Wesley ; at Leeds five of the clergy at the old church treated him with marked attention and asked him to help in Communion.

One of the institutions was the "watch-night,"—at first held every month ; finally,

on account of gossip, only the last day of the year.

The dispensary, the loan fund, and the publishing department were now added to the Foundry. John's Journals, sermons, tracts; Charles's hymns; numerous compilations and abridgments,—these became popular throughout the country. Wesley had an unparalleled talent for organising.

At that time anything new in religion was immediately called Popish. The Methodists were by many supposed to be Popish. At the time of the rising for Prince Charles Edward in 1745, Wesley himself was examined by some magistrates as to supposed complicity with St. Germain's, and as to his readiness to take the declaration against Popery. In 1749 Bishop Lavington of Exeter published a book against the "dangerous and presumptuous sect." He and Wesley afterwards became reconciled.

The employment of lay preachers was first begun by Whitefield in 1739. Enough of clerical assistants could not be obtained by the great missionaries. The first of Wesley's own lay friends to preach was Thomas Maxfield. Then the idea spread rapidly; the clergy were standing aloof; the Wesleys saw nothing for it

but to choose "men of suitable gifts and graces, laborious and zealous, fitted to give help to the poor sheep whose shepherds heeded them not." The number increased speedily, and soon Wesley distributed them all over England. London, Bristol, and Newcastle were the head centres.

The first annual Conference took place in London in June 1744. Communion was administered to the London members, estimated at two thousand. Among the resolutions passed was one binding them to loyalty to the Church.

The growth and stability of Methodism depended greatly on Wesley's own supervision. He made tours to all parts of England, besides Ireland and Scotland. In addition to London, Bristol, and Newcastle, he found great delight in Macclesfield. Congenial soil for the system was also found in Cornwall. For twenty years or more he made his tours on horseback, encountering wonderful adventures and escapes. Often, besides the reins, he held a note-book in one hand and a pencil in the other. Wherever he arrived he preached the same evening in town-hall or market-place, visited the classes, and held interviews. His correspondence was enormous. "As long as he lived Wesley was the

autocrat and arbiter, to whom everything was referred, and whose decision was accepted always with willingness, and during his last years without a parallel in English history.”¹ “Firmly knit and strong in texture, bodily and mental, he had a capacity for hard and continuous work such as is rarely met with.” One of his correspondents, under the name of “Mr. Smith,” was Dr. Secker, Bishop of Oxford, afterwards Primate: he and Wesley wrote to each other on all kinds of matters doctrinal and practical.

By 1747 the clergy were less suspicious. Convulsions and shoutings were now rare. When he was invited to preach by the Rector of St. Bartholomew’s, the churchwarden consulted the Bishop. The Bishop replied that Mr. Wesley was a regular clergyman, and under no ecclesiastical censure. No inhibition was ever issued in any diocese. People began to notice that there was visible improvement in the populace.

Of course here and there came persecution. The destruction of the preaching-house at Sheffield followed riots in Staffordshire and at

¹ Umlin.

St. Ives in Cornwall. At Hull in 1752 Wesley's lodgings were attacked till midnight. There were riots at Manchester, Dublin, Gloucester, Epworth, and Halifax. In 1768 six students were expelled from St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, for sympathy with Methodism, and the supposition that they were helped by Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, the friend of Whitefield.

Among the clergymen who joined Wesley were Henry Piers, Vicar of Bexley, Kent; Meriton, of the Isle of Man; Taylor, Vicar of Quinton; Hodges, Rector of Wenvoe; Vincent Perronet, Vicar of Shoreham, Kent; Peard Dickenson; William Grimshaw, Vicar of Haworth, Yorkshire; John Fletcher, Vicar of Madeley; John Berridge, Vicar of Everton; John Richardson, who gave up a curacy in Sussex to help in the New Chapel; and David Simpson, of Macclesfield. John Jones, a lay preacher, was ordained as a helper to Wesley, first by a Cretan bishop, and afterwards by the Bishop of London. Lawrence Coughlan followed the same course. James Creighton was secured with Peard Dickenson as clerical helpers at New Chapel. E. Smith took charge of the chapel at Bath. Dr. Coke became in 1776 one of Wesley's closest advisers. He was

mainly responsible for the policy of the ordinations for America.

Wesley was a close student of primitive antiquity, and he found that the idea that preaching is the exclusive right of the ordained officers of the Church is quite modern. In primitive days every Christian might preach outside the congregation, and selected and approved laymen were accustomed to preach in the church, and even in the presence of the clergy and bishops. Wesley, after much consideration, approved the appointment of lay preachers, as supplemental to the ordained ministry of the Church of England: at his death there were four hundred of the itinerant order alone. Wesley considered them as raised up for an emergency; but of course there was always the tendency to claim for themselves the fuller ministerial duties and responsibilities. Before the year 1760 a distinction was made between the itinerant and the local preachers: the former gave their whole time, and were maintained by contributions; the latter could remain in business.

Wesley's first visit to Ireland was in 1747, and he regularly repeated his visits in alternate years till the time of his death. The connection

between the Irish Church and Methodism became closer than the corresponding tie in England. There were great annual communions at St. Patrick's Cathedral, which continued long after Wesley's death. Of late years the larger section of Irish Methodists has been absorbed into the distinct Wesleyan body; but the "Primitive Church Methodists" remain loyal to the original plan, and faithful to the connection with the Church of Ireland.

It was in 1760 that a few Methodists embarked from Limerick for America. The English Church was prevented by legal and political difficulties from doing its duty to the States. The Bishop of London, in whose diocese the States were considered up till the Declaration of Independence, was unable, it appeared, to ordain even one missionary for the American continent. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was doing what it could; but Asbury the missionary wrote in 1784, "We are greatly in need of help." Letter after letter came with the same appeals. If only the orderly consecration of a bishop to organise a Church in the United States might not have been postponed so long! Wesley was persuaded early one morning, at Bristol

and in his own room, to go through a form of laying on of hands, after which his friend Dr. Coke considered himself a bishop, and Whatcoat and Vasey regarded themselves as presbyters. This was Wesley's first distinct departure from the order of the Church of England. He wrote that King, a writer on the Primitive Church, held that originally presbyters could ordain as well as bishops; and he was persuaded that the emergency of America justified the step. On reading the letter, the Conference at Baltimore determined that they should call themselves the Methodist Episcopal Church, which title they have ever since maintained. With regard to Coke and Asbury, to whom he gave a like commission, Wesley called them superintendents, and not bishops; but the word in the Greek is the same. In 1785 also he "set apart" three preachers to be ministers in Scotland. Later on he commissioned some for Antigua and other distant places. Those he thus raised by his own authority from preachers to ministers were about nine in all.

Wesley was a voluminous writer; and it is impossible in this brief sketch to give an account of his long series of sermons, his compilations, class-books, journals, and articles. In 1790,

in his *Arminian Magazine*, he protested against all idea of secession from the English Church : "I never had any design of separating from the Church. I have no such design now. I do not believe the Methodists in general design it, when I am no more seen. I do, and will do, all that is in my power to prevent such an event. Nevertheless, in spite of all that I can do, many of them will separate from it. . . . In flat opposition to these, I declare once more that I live and die a member of the Church of England, and that none who regard my judgment or advice will ever separate from it."

In his old age Wesley had outlived all enmity, and was revered by his fellow-countrymen. George III. spoke of him with enthusiasm. Charles Simeon and William Wilberforce were among his friends. His brother Charles, who had always been more conservative than John, but with whom he had always remained in the closest possible affection, died in 1788. Wesley's last journey to Scotland and the north of England was in 1790. Wherever he went he was received with extraordinary honour and interest. On March 2nd, 1791, in his eighty-ninth year, he died "of old age" in perfect peace.

He vested the control of Methodism, its interests and property, in a Council of one hundred, whom he nominated, and who afterwards co-opted new members. In 1795 the Conference took the first step towards secession by allowing the preachers to administer the sacraments if the congregations so desired. In 1836 ordination by the hands of senior ministers was adopted.

Wesley is described as low in stature, of slight figure, but well proportioned. His frame was muscular, being capable of great exertion, and he exhibited all the symptoms of a sound constitution. His features were clear cut and fine, and his complexion was singularly fresh and healthy, even to the end of his life. His countenance was expressive and benign ; and it was a common thing for persons who were much prejudiced against him to change their opinion on seeing him for the first time, and from that moment to become admiring friends.¹

“ His attitude in the pulpit was graceful and easy. His action calm and natural, yet pleasing and expressive. His voice not loud, but clear and manly. His style neat, simple, and perspicuous, and admirably adapted to the capacity

¹ Urlin, from Hampson, Whitehead, Coke and Moore.

of his hearers. His discourses in point of composition were extremely different on different occasions. When he gave himself sufficient time for study he succeeded; but when he did not he frequently failed. . . . His sermons were always short, seldom more than half an hour, and sometimes not so long. . . .

“For fifty-two years or upwards he generally delivered two, frequently three or four sermons in a day. But calculating at two sermons a day, and allowing, as a writer of his life has done, fifty annually for extraordinary occasions, the whole number during this period will be 40,560. To these might be added an infinite number of exhortations to the society after preaching, and in other occasional meetings at which he assisted.

“In social life Mr. Wesley was lively and conversable. . . . Having seen much of the world in his travels, and read more, his mind was well stored with an infinite number of anecdotes and observations; and the manner in which he related them was no inconsiderable addition to the entertainment they afforded. And in private life among his friends his manner was equally sprightly and pleasant. It was impossible to be long in his company, either in public or private, without partaking of his placid

cheerfulness, which was not abated by the infirmities of age or the approach of death, but was conspicuous at fourscore and seven as at one and twenty."¹

Dr. Johnson wrote of him: "Mr. Wesley's conversation is good. He talks well on any subject. I could converse with him all night."

When Wesley died, the number of members was 76,968. Since then the increase has been so great that above 18,000,000 people are now receiving Methodist instruction in various parts of the world. The Wesleyan Methodist body in the United Kingdom has now 459,569 members, and 955,518 Sunday scholars.

The Methodist New Connexion was started in 1797 by Alexander Kilham. It has 30,526 members, and 84,474 Sunday scholars.

The Primitive Methodists began in Staffordshire in 1810 under Hugh Bourne. They have 195,750 members, and 456,331 Sunday scholars.

The Bible Christians were founded in 1815 by William O'Bryen. They have 26,336 members, and 41,086 Sunday scholars.

The United Methodist Free Churches represent three secessions, amalgamated in 1857.

¹ Whitehead.

They number 68,017 members, and 193,464 Sunday scholars. The number of Sunday scholars in all these cases probably suggests a little inquiry.

The chief biographies of Wesley are :

Hampson : Sunderland, 1791.

Whitehead, 2 vols. : Dublin, 1805-6.

Coke and Moore (reprinted) : Derby, 1843.

Southey, 2 vols. (reprinted) : London, 1864.

Watson : 1831.

Jackson (3rd ed.) : London, 1862.

Wesley's Journals, 4 vols : London, 1864.

Urlin, *Wesley's Place in Church History* : London, 1870.

Hockin, *Wesley and Modern Methodism*.

Rigg, *Churchmanship of John Wesley* : London, 1879.

Tyerman, 3 vols. : London.

Urlin, *Churchman's Life of Wesley* : London (to which I am indebted for most of the facts in the foregoing sketch).

VIII

SIMEON

THE TEACHER OF VITAL RELIGION

“THERE is only one man at Cambridge,” says Canon Overton, the historian of the English Church in the eighteenth century, and of the Evangelical Movement, “whose services to Evangelicalism at all equalled those of Isaac Milner. It need scarcely be said that that man was Charles Simeon, the voluntary performer of that work for which, of all others, our universities ought most carefully to provide, but which, at least during the eighteenth century, they most neglected—the training of our future clergymen.” And Macaulay ascribes to him, through his wonderful power over generations of young students and ministers, an influence greater than that of an archbishop of Canterbury.

Charles Simeon was, like William Laud, born at Reading; on September 4th, 1759, thirty-two years before the death of John Wesley.

His father, Richard, belonged to a landed family in the counties of Oxford and Stafford. Richard's father and grandfather had both been vicars of Bucklebury, in Berkshire; his wife was Elizabeth Hutton, of a family which had given two archbishops to York. Charles was the fourth and youngest son. One of the elder sons, John, became Senior Master of the Court of Chancery, and was one of the commissioners with Sir Herbert Taylor and Count Munster for managing the private property of George III. Having represented Reading in Parliament for many years, he was made a baronet in 1815, and was grandfather of the present Sir John Simeon, of Swainston, in the Isle of Wight.

Charles was sent at an early age to Eton, where he became a King's scholar, and passed on in due time to a scholarship and fellowship at King's College, Cambridge. He seems to have been of a most lively, volatile, candid, and impulsive disposition. "The energy and vigour which so remarkably distinguished him through life were much noticed in his youth. Horse-manship was his favourite exercise; and few persons, it is well known, were better judges of the merits of a horse, or more dexterous and bold in the management of one. In feats

of strength and activity he was surpassed by none." Although, from the deep religious point of view of his subsequent life, he referred to his schooldays with self-condemnation, "with regard to his moral character and habits there is every reason to believe, from observations that occasionally escaped from him, that he was by no means profligate or vicious in the usual sense of the terms. It would rather appear that, though exposed to scenes and temptations which he often spoke of with horror, he was on the whole in early life regular in habits and correct in his general conduct. His failings were principally such as arise from a constitutional vehemence and warmth of temper, the more easily provoked from certain feelings of vanity and self-importance, which during the whole of his life were a subject of conflict and trial to him. These feelings would display themselves at school in too great attention to dress, and in little peculiarities of manner, which quickly attracted the notice and provoked the ridicule of his companions."

A national fast, ordered in 1776, when he was still at Eton, and about seventeen years old, made a solemn impression on his mind. The thorough change of heart took place in

1779, at King's College, when he had received a message from the Provost that he would be expected to attend the Lord's Supper about three weeks later. Feeling his unfitness, he took in hand *The Whole Duty of Man*. "I began," he says, "to read it with great diligence, at the same time calling my ways to remembrance, and crying to God for mercy ; and so earnest was I in these exercises that within the three weeks I made myself quite ill with reading, fasting, and prayer." He would have to communicate again at Easter : he began to make restitution to any he thought he had wronged. His sense of sinfulness pressed so hard on him that he sometimes envied the very dogs their mortality. "In proportion," he continues, "as I proceeded in this work, I felt somewhat of hope springing up in my mind, but it was an indistinct kind of hope, founded on God's mercy to real penitents. But in Passion week, as I was reading Bishop Wilson on the Lord's Supper, I met with an expression to this effect, that the Jews knew what they did when they transferred their sins to the head of their offering. The thought rushed into my mind, 'What ! may I transfer all my guilt to another ? Has God provided an offering for me, that I

may lay my sins upon His head? Then, God willing, I will not bear them on my own soul one moment longer.' Accordingly I sought to lay my sins upon the sacred head of Jesus, and on Easter Day, April 4th, I awoke early with those words on my heart and lips, 'Jesus Christ is risen to-day, Hallelujah!' From that hour peace flowed in abundance into my soul, and at the Lord's table in our chapel I had the sweetest access to God through my blessed Saviour."

With his accustomed energy he set about at once to put his new experience into practice. He established a meeting for instruction and prayer on Sunday evenings for the College servants. In the vacation he persuaded his eldest brother, Richard, to join him in establishing family prayers in their father's house. The brother died in 1782, three years afterwards, in the genuine faith of a Christian; and as to the other two, John and Edward, who first joined their aged father in ridiculing and disliking Charles's change of life, "Blessed be God," he afterwards wrote, "both these brothers lived to embrace and honour that Saviour whom I had commended to them."

For three years he met no one at Cambridge

like-minded. At length he was invited to tea by Mr. Atkinson, Vicar of St. Edward's, whose ministry he attended, and also became acquainted with Jowett of Magdalene, and John Venn of Sidney; and Venn introduced him to his father, the celebrated Henry Venn, Rector of Yelling, near Huntingdon. "In this aged minister," he wrote, "I found a father, an instructor, and a most bright example, and I shall have reason to adore my God to all eternity for the benefit of his acquaintance."

"On May 20th, 1782 (Trinity Sunday), I was ordained by the Bishop of Ely, and began my ministry in St. Edward's Church (in good old Latimer's pulpit), serving that parish for Mr. Atkinson during the long vacation. . . . In the space of a month or six weeks the church became crowded, the Lord's table was attended by three times the usual number of communicants, and a considerable stir was made among the dry bones. I visited all the parish from house to house, without making any difference between Churchmen and Dissenters." After a discussion with a dissenting minister on the doctrine of election, "I soon learned that I must take the Scriptures with the simplicity of a little child, and be content to

receive on God's testimony what He has revealed, whether I can unravel all the difficulties that attend it or not ; and from that day to this I have never had a doubt respecting the truth of that doctrine, nor a wish, as far as I know, to be wise above that which is written. I feel that I cannot even explain how it is that I move my finger, and therefore I am content to be ignorant of innumerable things which exceed not only my wisdom, but the wisdom of the most learned men in the universe. For this disposition of mind I have unbounded reason to be thankful to God ; for I have not only avoided many perplexities by means of -it, but actually learned much which I should otherwise never have learned. I was not then aware that this simple exercise of faith is the only way of attaining Divine knowledge ; but I now see it is so ; and, in fact, it is the true way in which we attain human knowledge also."

He is thus described at the time by Henry Venn : " In less than seventeen Sundays by preaching for Mr. Atkinson in a church at Cambridge he filled it with hearers—a thing unknown there for near a century. He has been over to see me six times within the last

three months : he is calculated for great usefulness, and is full of faith and love. My soul is always the better for his visits. Oh to flame as he does with zeal, and yet be beautified with meekness ! . . . It is amazing what success he has met with."

His Cambridge life was very nearly coming to a sudden close, for on the death of his brother Richard it was thought he ought to take his place in presiding over his father's household. At this moment died the Vicar of Trinity Church, Cambridge. Simeon had wished for this parish ; his father knew the Bishop of Ely, with whom lay the nomination, and the Bishop appointed him. The parishioners wanted Hammond, the curate, and immediately presented him to a lectureship, to which they had the right of election, and which the late vicar had held with the vicarage, writing at the same time to the Bishop to ask him to make him vicar. Simeon had wished to stand aside, but the Bishop told him he certainly should not appoint Hammond. Simeon accepted, and preached his first sermon in Trinity Church on November 10th, 1782. He held the parish fifty-four years, till his death on November 13th, 1836.

The disappointed parishioners began a persecution of their new vicar which his kindness and goodness did not overcome for eight years. They absented themselves from his ministrations and locked up their pews. For the sake of peace Simeon refrained from standing on his rights, and filled the aisles with benches. "To visit the parishioners in their own homes," he writes, "was impracticable, for they were so embittered against me that there was scarcely one who would admit me to his house. In this state of things I saw no remedy but faith and patience. The passage of Scripture which subdued and controlled my mind was, 'The servant of the Lord must not strive.' It was painful to see the church, with the exception of the aisles, almost forsaken; but I thought if God would only give a double blessing to the congregation that did attend, there would be on the whole as much good done."

Simeon was at this time the object of much persecution. Cambridge was full of a mere worldly and professional religion. Simeon's exemplification of the faith of the New Testament as a living power was deeply resented. Godless undergraduates attended his church for the purposes of ridicule. He became a

by-word. On one occasion, when a fellow of his own college ventured to walk up and down with him for a short time on a grass-plot, he was quite astonished, as he was accustomed to consider himself an outcast. Of these days he wrote long after: "Many years ago, when I was the object of much contempt and derision in this University, I strolled forth one day, buffeted and afflicted, with my little Testament in my hand. I prayed earnestly to my God that He would comfort me with some cordial from His Word, and that, on opening the book, I might find some text which should sustain me. The first text which caught my eye was this: 'They found a man of Cyrene, Simon by name; him they compelled to bear His cross.' (You know Simon is the same name as Simeon.) What a word of instruction was here! To have the cross laid upon me that I might bear it after Jesus: what a privilege! It was enough. Now I could leap and sing with joy as one whom Jesus was honouring with a participation in His sufferings."

Towards the close of 1786 he preached his first University sermon in the pulpit of St. Mary's. The scene is thus described by Mr.

Carus-Wilson, of Casterton Hall : " The greatest excitement prevailed on this occasion. St. Mary's was crowded with gownsmen ; and at first there seemed a disposition to disturb and annoy the preacher in a manner at that period unhappily not unusual. But scarcely had he proceeded more than a few sentences, when the lucid arrangement of his exordium, and his serious and commanding manner, impressed the whole assembly with feelings of deep solemnity, and he was heard to the end with the most respectful and riveted attention. The vast congregation departed in a mood very different from that in which it had assembled ; and it was evident from the remarks that were heard at going out, and the subdued tone in which they were made, that many were seriously affected, as well as surprised, at what they had heard. Of two young men who had come among the scoffers, one was heard to say to the other, ' Well ! Simeon is no fool, however ! ' ' Fool ! ' replied his companion ; ' did you ever hear such a sermon before ? ' "

A friend who at this time shared his room for three months says : " Never did I see such consistency and reality of devotion, such warmth of piety, such zeal and love ! Never did I see

one who abounded so much in prayer!" Though it was winter, Simeon used to rise at four o'clock, light his own fire, and then spend four hours in private prayer and in the devotional study of the Scriptures. He would then ring his bell, and, calling in his friend, with his servant, engage with them in what he termed his family prayer.

Of his sermons Simeon writes: "It was not till ten or twelve years after I had entered into the ministry that I ever saw Claude's *Essay on the Composition of a Sermon*, and I was perfectly surprised to find that all the chief rules which he prescribes for the composition of a sermon had not only been laid down by myself, but practised for some years. This shows that his rules are founded in nature. . . . From seeing my own rules thus reduced to system I was led to adopt the resolution of endeavouring to impart to others the little knowledge I possessed of that species of composition, and to adopt Claude as the groundwork of my private lectures. . . . For the space of about twenty years I have persevered in having a few young men to assist in thus preparing for that which is generally esteemed so difficult—the writing of their sermons; and from the many acknowledg-

ments which have been made by ministers from time to time, I have reason to hope that my labours have not been in vain in the Lord."

"This," says his biographer, William Carus, "was one of the most important services which Mr. Simeon rendered to the younger members of the University. He had himself felt keenly from the outset of his ministry the want of some direction in the composition of his sermons; and he was therefore the more anxious to remedy this want, as far as he could, by imparting to others the results of his own experience and care. . . . 'When I began to write at first, I knew no more than a brute how to make a sermon—and after a year or so I gave up writing, and began to preach from notes. But I so stammered and stumbled that I felt that this was worse than before—and so I was obliged to take to a written sermon again. At last, however, the *reading* a sermon appeared to be so heavy and dull that I once more made an attempt with notes, and determined if I did not now succeed to give up preaching altogether.' This method of preaching from notes, carefully arranged and prepared, he pursued till within a few years of his death. . . . His style of delivery, which to the last

was remarkably lively and impressive, in his earlier days was earnest and impassioned in no ordinary degree. The intense fervour of his feelings he cared not to conceal or restrain : his whole soul was in his subject, and he spoke and acted exactly as he felt. Occasionally, indeed, his gestures and looks were grotesque, from the earnestness and fearlessness of his attempts to illustrate or enforce his thoughts in detail ; but his action was altogether unstudied—sometimes remarkably striking and commanding—and always sincere and serious. At that period such manifestations of feeling were very unusual in the pulpit ; and it is therefore highly probable that the opposition and ridicule he encountered in the earlier part of his ministry may be attributed as much to the manner as to the matter of his preaching.”

His natural weaknesses of self-importance and irritability he constantly struggled against, with increasing success. In his old age he writes : “There are but two objects that I have ever desired for these forty years to behold—the one is my own vileness, and the other is the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ ; and I have always thought that they should be viewed together. By this I seek to be not only humbled

and thankful, but humbled in thankfulness before my God and Saviour continually. This is the religion that pervades the whole Liturgy, and particularly the Communion Service; and this makes the Liturgy inexpressibly sweet to me." One of his favourite texts was, "The servant of the Lord must not strive." "Many hundreds of times has that one word tied my hands." Two of his favourite mottoes were: "Talk not about myself"; "Speak evil of no man." Thus he writes in after-years to a friend: "Such conduct is observed towards me at this very hour by one of the fellows of the College as, if practised by *me*, would set not the College only, but the whole town and University in a flame. But the peace and joy which I experience from lying as clay in the potter's hands are more than I can express. The example of our blessed Lord, who, as a lamb before its shearers, was dumb, and without either threatening or complaint committed Himself to Him that judgeth righteously, appears to me most lovely."

The following sentences are from rules which he laid down for himself: "To hear as little as possible what is to the prejudice of others; to believe nothing of the kind till I am abso-

lutely forced to it; always to moderate, as far as I can, the unkindness which is expressed towards others; always to believe that, if the other side were heard, a very different view would be given of the matter. I consider, too, that persons are cast in different moulds; and that to ask myself, 'What should *I* do in that person's situation?' is not a just mode of judging. I think that religious people are too little attentive to these considerations."

A famine towards the close of 1788 gave him an opportunity of exemplifying his Christian activity and benevolence on a large scale. After helping to supply the poor of Cambridge with bread at half price, he inquired what was to become of the poor of the neighbouring villages. Nothing was being done. "That," said he, "shall be my business." He made a plan for relieving twenty-four villages, and took the leading part in carrying it out himself. "This," says a friend, "made a great impression on the University, and was one of the first things to open their eyes to the character of the man who had been so much ridiculed and opposed."

In 1790 Trinity parish began to yield to his personal attraction. The churchwardens had

refused to allow a Sunday evening service, and Simeon had hired a lecture-room for the purpose; now they gave way, and the evening service was transferred to the church. In 1794 the lectureship was vacant for the third time, and Simeon was quietly elected to it. The evening services excited afresh the indecent behaviour of thoughtless and profane undergraduates; and this Simeon was at once wise, firm, and courageous in repressing. "I always," he writes, "went down from my pulpit the moment the sermon was finished, and stood at the great north door, ready to apprehend any gownsman who should insult those who had been at church. I requested those who withstood my authority not to compel me to demand their names, because, if once constrained to do that, I must proceed to further measures. This kindness usually prevailed. Where it did not, I required the person to call on me the next morning, nor did one single instance occur of a person daring to refuse my mandate."

On one occasion the Vice-Chancellor ordered the culprit to read a written apology before the congregation; and as he did not read it in a voice which all could hear, Simeon read it again in a clear and impressive manner, which had a

desirable effect. In 1810, when a brawler refused to apologise, he had him committed to prison, and kept there till he submitted. But these offenders were but a small proportion of the increasing crowds of undergraduates who came to learn from this loving man of God, full of the Holy Ghost, the truths of personal religion.

In 1796 he made the acquaintance of Dr. Buchanan, a well-known clergyman of the Established Church in Scotland. With him he made a tour, preaching alike in Presbyterian and Episcopalian churches. Differences of Church government were not at that time insisted on so strongly as is now the case, and the two Churches were on excellent terms. Some extracts from Simeon's diary will illustrate his objects and methods in travelling :

"Sunday, June 5th.—I went to hear Dr. Erskine, of the New Greyfriars, Edinburgh. His appearance and zeal reminded me much of my dear friend Mr. Venn. In the afternoon I preached at the Canongate, and conducted the service in the usual manner. In the evening I preached at Mr. Dickson's new chapel in the Canongate to a very crowded audience, and, through mercy, with much liberty and comfort. Sir John Stirling supped with us. He came in

while Dr. Buchanan, in his usual manner, was catechising his niece and servants. I was astonished at their readiness in answering his questions, and giving an account of what they had heard in the day. Sir John is a remarkably pleasing man, and a truly pious Christian.

“*June 9th.*—Mr. B. has been unwearied in his endeavours to introduce me to the most godly people, to show me everything that can be seen, and to provide me a companion for my northern tour. I desire to give glory to my God for all the love I meet with, and ardently wish that it may be the means of humbling me, and not of puffing me up.

“*Friday, June 10th.*—How wonderful is the goodness of God to me! Everything that I could wish has taken place. On Thursday Sir John Stirling offered me his own mare for my northern tour, and this day Mr. Haldane¹ has offered to accompany me. Surely goodness and mercy are following me all the way!

“*Sunday, June 19th.*—Communion Sunday. Went with Messrs. Innes and Campbell to

¹ James Haldane, who with his brother Robert laboured with great success as lay evangelists in Scotland. Alexander Haldane wrote their biography, and was the father of the present Bishop of Argyll and the Isles.

St. Ninian's. Mr. Sheriff began the service, and preached a useful sermon from Heb. x. 10. After preaching above an hour, besides prayer and singing, he left the pulpit and went to the head of the tables. There he gave an exhortation which to me was more excellent than the sermon. I communicated at the second table, where Mr. Campbell exhorted. His exhortation was exceedingly precious to my soul. I was quite dissolved in tears. I made a full, free, and unreserved surrender of myself to God. I walked home alone by choice, and met numbers coming to the Sacrament, which, as I understood, lasted till about eight in the evening.

"*Tuesday, June 21st.*—Lord Balgownie accompanied us to Melville, the seat of Lord Leven, his father, who has for nine years been Commissioner—that is, the representative of the King in the General Assembly. Our conversation was altogether spiritual, and the whole family evidently took pleasure in it. They wished me to speak in the evening, and assembled about a dozen, besides all their own family, to hear. The house is large, but not grand; the furniture is old and plain; the pictures are few. There was, however, what is infinitely better than pomp and grandeur—a peace and

harmony, the offspring of well-regulated habits and affections.

"Sunday, June 26th.—Sacrament Sunday at Moulin. The congregation was numerous, and the communicants about one thousand. I preached a short sermon, and while they were partaking I spoke a few words of encouragement, and bade them depart in peace. I expressed to them in my former exhortation my fears respecting the formality which obtains among all the people, and urged them to devote themselves to Jesus Christ. On the whole this Sabbath was not like the last. Then I was very much affected, now I was barren and dull. God, however, is the same, and His Word is unchangeable, and in that is all my hope. In the evening Mr. Stewart, the minister of Moulin, came up into my room, and we had much conversation about the ministry."

This began a warm and brotherly friendship.

"Mr. Stewart was a man in high repute both for amiableness of manners and for learning, but he was very defective in his views of the Gospel and his experience of its power. When we were retiring, I had him alone with me in my chamber, and spoke such things as

occurred to my mind with a view to his spiritual good. And it pleased God so to apply them to his heart that they were made effectual in bringing him into the marvellous light of the Gospel of Christ. From that moment he changed the strain of his preaching, and God has now for the last fifteen years made his instructions eminently useful for the salvation of souls."

The year 1800 was important in the life of Simeon, for during it he became one of the founders of the Church Missionary Society, which has since been blessed by God to the life of the Church in such an extraordinary degree. It was settled at a meeting of the Eclectic Society on March 18th of that year. John Venn introduced the subject, and Simeon seconded him. He asked three plain questions: "What can we do? When shall we do it? How shall we do it?" His answer to the second was characteristic. 'Directly. Not a moment to be lost.' The meeting decided unanimously that a new missionary society should be constituted without delay, and this decision was carried into effect on the 12th of the following month." Two of Simeon's own curates, to whom he was devotedly attached, and who had

both learnt much from his teaching, were among the earliest missionaries to India: Thomas Thomasson, who sailed in 1803, and the more famous Henry Martyn, in 1805.

In 1811 the first meeting of the Bible Society was held in Cambridge. The idea seemed to turn the University upside-down. "A great alarm was excited, and every person without exception threw cold water upon it from this principle—that if they were allowed to proceed in this way about the Bible, they would soon do the same about politics." Simeon persuaded the young men who had originated the movement to leave it to him. He was joined by Dr. Jowett, of Magdalene; John Brown, Fellow of Trinity; and Professor Farish. Professor Farish persuaded the Vice-Chancellor to summon a meeting of University, town, and county. Dr. Marsh, Margaret Professor of Divinity, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, wrote a hostile pamphlet, and "with incredible industry put it in the hands of all the great men of the county and all the leading members of the University. Application was made to Lord Hardwicke, who agreed to take the chair; but this very circumstance augmented our difficulties. No head of a college would come forward.

Dr. Milner¹ was in town, and would not come forward unless the Bishop² did. The Bishop would not, because it was in the Bishop of Ely's diocese, and he did not like to interfere with him. We all trembled lest Lord H., when he came to take the chair, should complain that he had been deceived by us. On Tuesday we heard, however, with joy that Lord F. Osborne would come and support Lord Hardwicke. Mr. Wilberforce had done all he could to get the Chancellor (the Duke of Gloucester) to give us his name and aid us with his presence, but in vain. At last, however, we had joyful tidings. The Duke was willing to be president. And then the day arrived. But how? Truly God showed that He reigns in the earth. The Earl of Bristol gave us his name. Dr. Milner had come down during the night. The Dukes of Bedford and of Rutland gave us their names. The Bishop of Bristol permitted us to use his also. And, to crown the whole, Mr. Nicholas Vansittart sent down a printed letter to Dr. Marsh in answer to his. Dear Mr. Steinkopff was applauded for a great

¹ President of Queens' College.

² Dr. Mansel, Bishop of Bristol and Master of Trinity College.

length of time, and all he said was most affecting. Mr. Owen was brilliant beyond measure. Professor Farish, with all his placidity, was animated and bold as a lion. Dr. Clarke, the Professor of Mineralogy, was extremely eloquent. He was aware that by taking an active part he was likely to cut himself off from all hopes of the Mastership of Jesus College, but avowed his determination to do what he thought most acceptable to God. Dr. Milner spoke nobly and manfully, and took shame to himself for having been so long in making up his mind. Lord Francis also spoke well, though short."

"I consider our beloved and honoured friend Mr. Wilberforce as very eminently instrumental in this great and wonderful work. I believe we owe it chiefly to his exertions that both the Duke and Dr. Milner were induced to take the part they did."

"To the Society for the Conversion of the Jews," writes Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta, "Mr. Simeon was pre-eminently attached. In truth he was almost from the commencement the chief stay of that great cause." In 1815 he and his friend Mr. Lewis Way rescued it by their strenuous exertions from shipwreck. He frequently travelled for it: once to Holland.

His companion was often Dr. Marsh, of Colchester, father of the beloved Catherine Marsh, the navvies' friend. After one tour of five weeks he writes: "Mr. Marsh and I brought home eight hundred guineas clear gain, the journey having cost the Society nothing." To his Trust for Church Patronage he devoted much labour and money. "In the charge which he left to his trustees he most solemnly warns and beseeches them for the Lord's sake in every appointment to be guided by one consideration only—namely, that of the welfare of the people whose spiritual interests have been confided to them; to be influenced by no desire to provide for a needy clergyman, nor by any solicitation of the great and powerful, nor even by petitions of the parishioners; but to appoint only 'one who is a truly pious and devoted man, a man of God in deed and in truth, who with his piety combines a solid judgment and an independent mind.'"

It is of course by his marvellous influence over undergraduates that he will be most remembered. Through them he has been the father of modern evangelical life in the Church of England. In 1818 he says: "As for the gownsmen, never was anything like what they

are at this day. I am forced to let them go into the galleries, which I never suffered before; and notwithstanding that multitudes of them are forced to stand in the aisles, for want of a place to sit down. What thanks can I render to the Lord for a sight of these things!" Of a sermon which he delivered in St. Mary's Church, November 13th, 1831, Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta, says: "The writer can never forget the impression made on his mind by the appearance of the church when Mr. Simeon delivered one of his sermons on the Holy Spirit before that learned University. The vast edifice was literally crowded in every part. The Heads of the Houses, the Doctors, the Masters of Arts, the Bachelors, the Undergraduates, the congregation from the town, seemed to vie with each other in eagerness to hear the aged and venerable man."

He encouraged the young men who attended his church to cultivate intimate personal relations with himself. Himself a bachelor, he treated them all with fatherly affection. Mr. Thomasson writes about the year 1793: "Mr. Simeon watches over us as a shepherd over his sheep. He takes delight in instructing us, and has us continually at his rooms." And again: "Mr.

Simeon has invited me to his Sunday evening lectures. This I consider one of the greatest advantages I ever received. The subject is 'Natural and Revealed Religion.' We write after him; he then dismisses us with prayer." Instead of Sunday evening gatherings, he had at a later period a tea-party on Friday evenings, to which all might come without invitation (in 1826 he states that more than forty were sometimes present), and where they might propose questions on which they wished to have his opinion. A writer who used to attend these parties says:

"Such practical or critical difficulties as had been met with during the preceding week were brought by us gownsmen to the Friday evening tea-party, to be propounded to Mr. Simeon; and much do I err in judgment if many will not have reason to praise God with eternal praises for benefits received at these instructive meetings.

"At the entry of each gownsmen he would advance towards the opening door with all that suavity and politeness which you know he possessed in a remarkable degree, and would cordially tender his hand; and I assure you we deemed it no small honour to have had a

hearty shake of the hand and a kind expression of the looks from that good old man. As soon as the ceremony of introduction was concluded, Mr. Simeon would take possession of his accustomed seat, and would commence the business of the evening. After a pause, he would encourage us to propose our doubts. Presently one and then another would venture with his interrogatories, till our backwardness and reserve were entirely removed.

Here is a glimpse of him at Cambridge in his old age, given by his friend Joseph John Gurney, of Earlham, the eminent member of the Society of Friends, in 1811 :

“We sent a note to our dear friend Charles Simeon, to propose spending part of the evening with him. While we were absent from the inn, there arrived a small characteristic note written in pencil: ‘Yes, yes, yes. Come immediately and dine with me.’ Simeon has the warm and eager manners of a foreigner, with an English heart beneath them. We declined his invitation to dinner; but as we were walking near King’s College, we heard a loud halloo behind us, and presently saw our aged friend, forgetful of the gout, dancing over the lawn to meet us. He then became our

guide, and led us through several of the colleges."

After minute and interesting details of a characteristic religious conversation, he continues :

"The hour of the evening was advancing, and these beautiful remarks formed a happy conclusion to familiar conversation. His elderly servants were now called in, and I was requested to read the Scriptures. A very precious solemnity ensued, during which the language of prayer and praise arose—I humbly hope with acceptance. I believe both my dear wife and myself were ready to acknowledge that we had seldom felt with any one more of the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

Carus thus describes him: "There was a remarkable combination of opposite qualities in Simeon's character. For dealing with cases requiring tenderness and sympathy, nothing could exceed his gentleness and deep feeling; whilst on occasions demanding firmness and vigorous speech and action, he would employ very strong language in rebuking error or enforcing truth. Amidst all his thoughts about his various great works, he was very particular about little things. Indeed, in everything he was a pattern of neatness and punctuality. He

was an uncommonly social man, delighting in the company of his friends; whilst he charmed them with his lively and original conversation, full of striking illustrations, accompanied often with much action, sometimes so amusing that it was almost impossible to refrain from a smile, even when he himself was speaking most seriously. But his striking action and devout appearance at all times in the pulpit can never be forgotten by those who knew him."

His last two sermons were preached on Thursday, September 15th, and on Sunday, September 18th, 1836, on the texts respectively, "Herein is My Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit: so shall ye be My disciples," and "Come with me, and see my zeal for the Lord." On Wednesday, the 21st, he went to Ely to pay his respects to the new Bishop. The Bishop received him with marked kindness and attention, and proposed that they should go together to see the Cathedral. Here they lingered too long; the coldness of the building, increased by the rawness of the day, soon began sensibly to affect Simeon, and was the direct cause of the severe illness from which he never recovered. He died a little more than seven weeks afterwards, on November 13th. His

illness was an exemplary instance of natural Christian genuineness and honest humility : there was nothing for show ; his whole thoughts were occupied with his own soul's health and the good of others. Death-bed scenes he abhorred. The following words, spoken ten days before his death, may serve to indicate his state of mind : " If you want to know what I am doing, go and look in the first chapter of Ephesians, from the third to the fourteenth verse. There you will see what I am enjoying now."

This is from the pen of Carus : " When his servant, Mrs. C., came into the room on one occasion to arrange the fireplace, he said : ' When C. is going out, tell her to come to my bedside, and let me give her a last look.' When she came, he looked at her most affectionately and said, ' God Almighty bless you, my dear C. ; now go.' Both his servants left the room overwhelmed at the sight of their dying master, from whom they had received so many kindnesses. He then turned his eyes towards me and said : ' Dear faithful servants ! No one ever had more faithful and kind servants than I have had. And to have such dear creatures to attend me when I am such a poor

wretch and deserve nothing but perdition!’ The tears trickled down his face, and he appeared quite overwhelmed at a sense of God’s mercies towards him.”

His body was laid in the vaults of King’s College, Cambridge. The funeral was an extraordinary contrast to the early opposition which he had experienced. All the shops of the principal part of the town were closed, though it was market day; and, what was an unusual mark of respect in the University, in almost every college the lectures were suspended. The following is from the pen of a distinguished eye-witness :

“ The persons who made up the procession (heads of colleges and professors, and men of all classes and ages in every college in the University, eight senior fellows bearing the pall), walking three or four abreast, nearly extended round the four sides of the quadrangle. On entering the west door of the chapel, I was struck with the multitude of persons who filled the nave, men, women, and children, all so far as I observed in mourning, and many giving proof that they were real mourners by their sighs and tears. These I understood to be the parishioners and hearers of Mr. Simeon.

. . . Nor was it the least interesting circumstance to see the young men of the University, as they stood during the service between the coffin and the communion-rails, all in mourning; and all, in appearance at least, feeling deeply the loss which had brought us together.

. . . Taking under review all the circumstances and accompaniments—the affectionate respect for the departed, himself the Luther of Cambridge, the sorrowing multitudes, including several hundreds of University men—I should think that no person present would ever fail, so long as he remembers anything, to carry with him a powerful remembrance of that day.

. . . Turning to my old recollections, I could scarcely believe it possible that Mr. Simeon could thus be honoured at his death! His very enemies, if any of them lived so long, seemed now to be at peace with him."

Simeon's great literary monument was the *Horæ Homileticæ*, in twenty-one volumes, containing two thousand five hundred skeleton sermons, extending over the whole range of the books of the Bible, and on every conceivable subject. Although it is best for every preacher to think out his own subject, for many in these days of incessant interruptions

and countless sermons it is simply impossible ; it would be an immense help to every young clergyman if he could have Simeon's two thousand five hundred outlines. This great work effectually disposes of the foolish sneer, adopted from his love of piquant humour by the late eminent Canon Liddon without reflection or inquiry, that the Evangelicals confined their preaching to two chapters of the Romans. Wherever Simeon's innumerable pupils went, to their vicarages and rectories in town and country, there went Simeon's methods and Simeon's infinitely broad and varied treatment.

The following is condensed from some of his rules :

“ This is the great secret, so to speak, of all composition for the pulpit. Every text, whether long or short, must be reduced to a categorical proposition first, in order to preserve a perfect unity in the subject ; and, secondly, in order to take it up and prosecute it in an orderly manner. If the passage contains a great variety of matter, the simple proposition should declare its main scope only, and the other points should be no further noticed than as they elucidate the one great point which is to be considered.

“Take for your subject that which you believe to be the mind of God in the passage before you. Be careful to understand the passage thoroughly, and regard nothing but the mind of God in it. Mark the character of the passage; mark the spirit of the passage. The soul should be filled with the subject, and breathe out the very spirit of it before the people. As God’s ambassadors we should speak *all* that He speaks, and *as* He speaks; God Himself should be heard in us and through us.”

Simeon thus describes an interview he had with John Wesley: “A young minister, about three or four years after he was ordained, had an opportunity of conversing familiarly with the great and venerable leader of the Arminians in this kingdom, and, wishing to improve the occasion, he addressed him nearly in the following words: ‘Sir, I understand that you are called an Arminian; and I have been sometimes called a Calvinist; and therefore I suppose we are to draw daggers. But before I consent to begin the combat, with your permission I will ask you a few questions.’ Permission being very readily and kindly granted, the young minister proceeded to ask, ‘Pray, sir,

do you feel yourself a depraved creature, so depraved that you would never have thought of turning to God, if God had not first put it in your heart?' 'Yes,' says the veteran, 'I do indeed.' 'And do you utterly despair of recommending yourself to God by anything that you can do, and look for salvation solely through the blood and righteousness of Christ?' 'Yes, solely through Christ.' 'But, sir, supposing you were at first saved by Christ, are you not somehow or other to save yourself afterwards by your own works?' 'No, I must be saved by Christ from first to last.' 'Allowing, then, that you were first turned by the grace of God, are you not in some way or other to keep yourself by your own power?' 'No.' 'What, then, are you to be upheld every hour and every moment by God, as much as an infant in its mother's arms?' 'Yes, altogether.' 'And is all your hope in the grace and mercy of God to preserve you unto His heavenly kingdom?' 'Yes, I have no hope but in Him.' 'Then, sir, with your leave I will put up my dagger again, for this is all my Calvinism—it is in substance all that I hold and as I hold it.'"

Wesley thus alludes to the interview: "*De-*

cember 20th, 1784.—I went to Hinxworth, where I had the satisfaction of meeting Mr. Simeon, Fellow of King's College in Cambridge. He has spent some time with Mr. Fletcher at Madeley: two kindred souls much resembling each other, both in fervour of spirit and earnestness of their address."

Simeon's place in the Church is thus summed up by Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta: "The mind is indeed astonished at the amount of this remarkable man's ultimate usefulness. As a Preacher he was unquestionably one of the first of his age—as a Divine one of the most truly Scriptural—as a President in the University the most useful person beyond all doubt which these latter times have known—as a Writer he began early in life, and accomplished after forty years' persevering labour a most extensive and valuable collection of discourses on every part of Scripture for the guidance of divinity students—as a Churchman he devoted all his property to perpetuate in numerous populous parishes the selection of devoted and able ministers—as a Man and a Christian he eminently lived to the glory and died in the peace of Christ his Lord."

A valuable biography of him, extending to

588 pages, was written by his friend and disciple William Carus, Senior Dean of Trinity College, Cambridge. A smaller and more modern Life has come from the sympathetic hand of Principal Moule, of Ridley, an admirable work more within the reach of the general reader. And *Charles Simeon of Cambridge* is the seventy-fifth of the excellent series of penny biographies of the Religious Tract Society, compiled from Carus's Memoirs by Horace Noel, a monograph deserving of the widest circulation.

IX

NEWMAN

THE FOUNDER OF TRACTARIANISM

JOHAN HENRY NEWMAN, the creator of the movement in the Church of England now symbolised by the various societies known generally as Anglo-Catholic,¹ was born in the city of London, February 21st, 1801, thirty-five years before the death of Charles Simeon. His father was of Dutch extraction (the name was originally spelt Newmann), a partner in the banking-house of Ramsbottom, Newman, & Co.; and his mother, Jemima Fourdrinier, had, like Dr. Pusey, Huguenot ancestors.

“I was brought up from a child,” he writes, “to take great delight in reading the Bible;

¹ The name is misleading, as all sections of the Church of England claim to be Catholic, though they explain the word differently.

but I had formed no religious conviction till I was fifteen. Of course I had a perfect knowledge of my catechism.”¹

“I used to wish the *Arabian Nights* were true; my imagination ran on unknown influences, on magical powers and talismans. . . . I thought life might be a dream, or I an angel, and all this world a deception, my fellow-angels by a playful device concealing themselves from me, and deceiving me with the semblance of a material world.”²

“I was very superstitious, and for some months previous to my conversion (when I was fifteen) used constantly to cross myself on going into the dark.”³

“When I was fourteen, I read Paine’s *Tracts* against the Old Testament, and found pleasure in thinking of the objections contained in them. Also I read some of Hume’s *Essays*; and perhaps that on miracles. . . . Also I recollect copying out some French verses, perhaps Voltaire’s, in denial of the immortality of the soul, and saying to myself something like ‘How dreadful, but how plausible!’”

The impulsive and impressionable character

¹ *Apologia*, p. 2.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

of Newman's mind is illustrated by the next extract from the *Apologia*.

"When I was fifteen (in the autumn of 1816), a great change of thought took place in me. I fell under the influence of a definite creed, and received into my intellect impressions of dogma, which through God's mercy have never been effaced or obscured. Above and beyond the conversations and sermons of . . . the Rev. Walter Mayers, of Pembroke College, Oxford, who was the human means of this beginning of Divine faith in me, was the effect of the books which he put into my hands, all of the school of Calvin. One of the first books I read was a work of Romaine's. . . . I received [the doctrine of final perseverance] at once, and believed that the inward conviction of which I was conscious (and of which I still am more certain than that I have hands and feet) would last into the next life, and that I was elected to eternal glory."

"The detestable doctrine last mentioned is simply denied and abjured, unless my memory strangely deceives me, by the writer who made a deeper impression on my mind than any other, and to whom (humanly speaking) I owe my soul—Thomas Scott, of Aston Sandford. I so admired and delighted in his writings that when

I was an undergraduate I thought of making a visit to his parsonage, in order to see a man whom I so deeply revered. . . . I hung upon the lips of Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta, as in two sermons at St. John's Chapel he gave the history of Scott's life and death."

After being deeply impressed by Law's *Serious Call*, he came upon "Joseph Milner's *Church History*, and was nothing short of enamoured of the long extracts from St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and the other Fathers which I found there. I read them as being the religion of the Primitive Christians; but simultaneously with Milner I read *Newton on the Prophecies*, and in consequence became most firmly convinced that the Pope was the Antichrist predicted by Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John. My imagination was stained by the effects of this doctrine up to the year 1843."

He matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, December 14th, 1816, when he was yet two months short of sixteen—a premature step which was a great misfortune to him. His logical faculty, excessively subtle and often perversely wayward, was precociously forced before his judgment could be cultivated by wide reading or matured by experience. His tutor was

Thomas Short. In 1818 he gained a Trinity scholarship, thrown open to competition—£60 for nine years. In the same year his father's bank stopped payment, all the creditors being satisfied in full. Entering at Lincoln's Inn, he kept a few terms, as his father intended him for the Bar. His want of deliberate precision and steady purpose was shown in his final examination at Oxford. He read hurriedly towards the end, broke down, and was placed in the second division of the second class.

Obtaining his B.A. degree in 1820, he took pupils in Oxford, and on April 12th, 1822, was elected Fellow of Oriel—a day which he “ever felt as the turning-point of his life, and of all days most memorable.”

Next year Edward Bouverie Pusey was also elected Fellow of Oriel, and Newman's friendship with him began. On Trinity Sunday, June 13th, 1824, he was ordained deacon, and became curate of St. Clement's, Oxford. He remained twenty-one years an English clergyman, but during the last two years of the time he did not preach.

Different doctrines were supplied to Newman's mind by different friends, and assimilated by him with rapid docility. Edward Hawkins, then

Fellow, afterwards Provost, of Oriel, gave him (as he supposed) the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration (in a very modified form ; but Newman did not care for modifications) in Sumner's *Treatise on Apostolical Preaching*. From a sermon of Hawkins's on "The Use and Importance of Unauthoritative Tradition" Newman deduced the full mediæval doctrine of Tradition. The Rev. William James, another Fellow, "taught me the doctrine of Apostolical Succession, in the course of a walk, I think, round Christ Church meadow ; I recollect being somewhat impatient of the subject at the time." In Butler's *Analogy* he thinks all must be struck by "its inculcation of a visible Church, the oracle of truth and a pattern of sanctity" ; but that is certainly not a prominent feature to most. Whately "taught me to see with my own eyes, and walk with my own feet" ; but with this, the most powerful and masculine among all Newman's friends, he could not get on. Whately's contributions to Newman's collection of opinions were "the existence of the Church as a substantial body or corporation" ; and "those anti-Erastian views of Church polity which were among the most prominent features of the Tractarian movement." The thoughts

which these different writers and thinkers suggested to Newman's mind took vastly different shapes, and developed in that rich and prolific soil into growths not easily recognised.

Whately, who was Principal of Alban Hall, made Newman Vice-Principal in 1825. Newman held the office till in 1826 he was appointed Tutor at Oriel.

"At this time I began to have influence, which steadily increased for a course of years. I gained upon my pupils, and was in particular intimate and affectionate with two of our probationer Fellows—Robert Isaac Wilberforce (afterwards Archdeacon) and Richard Hurrell Froude. Whately then, an acute man, perhaps saw around me the signs of an incipient party, of which I was not conscious myself. And thus we discern the first elements of that movement afterwards called Tractarian."

He had a hero-worship for Keble before he knew him. "I bore [congratulations on my Fellowship] till I came to Keble, and then seemed so abashed and unworthy of the honour done me that I seemed desirous of quite sinking into the ground. . . . He was shy of me for years in consequence of the marks which I bore upon me of the Evangelical and Liberal

schools. . . . Hurrell Froude brought us together about 1828: it is one of the sayings preserved in his *Remains*,—‘. . . if I was ever asked what good deed I had ever done, I should say that I had brought Keble and Newman to understand each other.’”

“The *Christian Year* made its appearance in 1827. . . . When the general tone of religious literature was so nerveless and impotent, as it was at that time, Keble struck an original note, and woke up in the hearts of thousands a new music, the music of a school long unknown in England. . . . The two main intellectual truths it brought home to me were . . . in a large sense of the word the Sacramental System; that is, the doctrine that material phenomena are both the types and the instruments of real things unseen,—a doctrine which embraces not only what Anglicans as well as Catholics believe about Sacraments properly so called; but likewise the article of ‘the Communion of the Saints,’ and the Mysteries of the Faith.” The other principle was the doctrine of Probability, as assented to by faith and love, which give it a force which it had not in itself. Newman added to this that our certitude of belief was the

result of an *assemblage* of concurring and converging probabilities. Here the dangerous point would be, what you admitted into this assemblage.

“Hurrell Froude was a pupil of Keble’s, formed by him, and in turn reacting upon him. I first knew him in 1826, and was in the closest and most affectionate friendship with him from about 1829 till his death in 1836. . . . His opinions arrested and influenced me, even when they did not gain my assent. He professed openly his admiration of the Church of Rome, and his hatred of the Reformers. He delighted in the notion of an hierarchical system, of sacerdotal power, and of full ecclesiastical liberty (independence of secular control). He felt scorn of the maxim ‘The Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants’; and he gloried in accepting tradition as a main instrument of religious teaching. He had a high, severe idea of the intrinsic excellence of Virginity; and he considered the blessed Virgin its great pattern. He delighted in thinking of the Saints; he had a vivid appreciation of the idea of sanctity, its possibility and its heights; and he was more than inclined to believe a large amount of miraculous interference as oc-

curing in the early and middle ages. He embraced the principle of penance and mortification. He had a deep devotion to the Real Presence, in which he had a firm faith. He was powerfully drawn to the Mediæval Church, but not to the Primitive. . . . It is difficult to enumerate the precise additions to my theological creed which I derived from a friend to whom I owe so much. He taught me to look with admiration towards the Church of Rome, and in the same degree to dislike the Reformation. He fixed deep in me the idea of devotion to the blessed Virgin, and led me gradually to believe in the Real Presence."

In 1827 Newman was appointed by Bishop Howley, of London, Oxford Preacher at Whitehall. In 1827-28 he was public examiner in classics in the final examination for honours. In 1828 came a most important event—the election of Hawkins to be Provost of Oriel, in preference to Keble, through Newman's influence; without that election, he said later, there would have been no Movement, no Tracts, no Library of the Fathers. Hawkins vacated the vicarage of St. Mary's (the University Church); and Newman, in succeeding him, obtained command of that famous and influential pulpit.

In 1829 his vigorous opposition to Peel's re-election as representative of the University in Parliament led to a break with Whately, and his association with Keble and Froude grew closer. About 1830 he began reading the Fathers systematically, with a view to writing a history of the principal councils at the request of Hugh Rose and Lyall, afterwards Dean of Canterbury. The work appeared in 1833 as *The Arians of the Fourth Century*—422 pages, of which 117 were introductory, and only 20 on the Council of Nicæa. Critics have said that he wrote before he had digested.

In 1830 he was "turned out of the Secretaryship of the Church Missionary Society at Oxford" because of a pamphlet in which he attacked its constitution. This marked his final break with the adherents of Reformation principles.

A significant passage in the *Apologia* refers to this period, and exhibits the fundamental bias which Newman, in his process of collecting doctrines from friends, adopted in attributing a kind of personality to the Church, and confusing the glories of the Invisible with the necessary imperfections of the Visible Body. The Visible Church can only be the aggregate of living

Christians, assorted on whatever principle, and more or less willing to be led by the Holy Spirit. Their decisions are liable to error, and the perfection of their conduct as a whole depends on the perfection of the conduct of the individuals. All this is a fundamental principle of the English Church; and had Newman appreciated it, he would not have been led to attribute the predominant importance which he did to the authority and (as he imagined) personality of the outward body. He did not see that if the Church was not vigorous, it needed more of the Spirit of God in its members, and that this could only come by faith and prayer. Dissatisfied with the existing condition of the Church of England, and fascinated by something which he thought grand in the third and fourth centuries, he did not inquire whether the Church of England's principles were true while Church of England men might be inert, but (under the impulse of Froude) he jumped to the conclusion that the principles were faulty, and that something else was needed. The current questions which stirred his indignation seemed historically inadequate to justify a crusade that was to undo the Reformation; nor would they have acted

on him in that way had not his docile, plastic, and receptive mind already been poisoned against the Reformation by Froude. "The Reform agitation was going on around me as I wrote. The Whigs had come into power; Lord Grey had told the Bishops to set their house in order" (it greatly needed it), "and some of the Prelates had been insulted and threatened in the streets of London." (They were mostly against reform.) "The vital question was, How were we to keep the Church from being liberalised? There was such apathy on the subject in some quarters, such imbecile alarm in others; the true principles of Churchmanship seemed so radically decayed" (Newman's were at any rate different from those taught by the formularies of the English Church), "and there was such distraction in the councils of the clergy. Blomfield, the Bishop of London of the day, an active and open-hearted man, had been for years engaged in diluting the high orthodoxy of the Church by the introduction of members of the Evangelical body into places of influence and trust. He had deeply offended men who agreed in opinion with myself by an off-hand saying (as was reported) to the effect that belief in the Apostolic Succession had gone out with the

Nonjurors. 'We can count you,' he said to some of the gravest and most venerated persons of the old school. And the Evangelical party itself, with their late successes, seemed to have lost that simplicity and unworldliness which I admired so much in Milner and Scott." (He did not look for it: he had only to go to Cambridge and find it in Simeon and his innumerable disciples.) "It was not that I did not venerate such men as Ryder, the then Bishop of Lichfield, and others of similar sentiments, but I thought little of the Evangelicals as a class. I thought they played into the hands of the Liberals. With the Establishment thus divided and threatened, thus ignorant of its true strength, I compared that fresh vigorous power of which I was reading in the first centuries" (third and fourth). "In her triumphant zeal on behalf of that Primeval Mystery, to which I had had so great a devotion from my youth, I recognised the movement of my Spiritual Mother. 'Incessu patuit Dea' ('She was plainly a Goddess as she walked'). The self-conquest of her Ascetics, the patience of her Martyrs, the irresistible determination of her Bishops, the joyous swing of her advance, both exalted and abashed me. I said to myself, 'Look on this picture and

on that ' ; I felt affection for my own Church, but not tenderness ; I felt dismay at her prospects, anger and scorn at her do-nothing perplexity. I thought that if Liberalism once got a footing within her, it was sure of victory in the event. I saw that Reformation principles were powerless to rescue her. As to leaving her, the thought never crossed my imagination ; still I always kept before me that there was something greater than the Established Church, and that was the Church Catholic and Apostolic, set up from the beginning, of which she was but the local presence and organ.¹ She was nothing unless she was this. She must be dealt with strongly, or she would be lost. *There was need of a second Reformation.*"

It is difficult, with all possible admiration for Newman's genius and character, to say whether the want of discrimination or the confidence of this passage is the greater. Here is a young man of about thirty, ready to set to rights the Church of Cranmer, Ridley, Parker, Whitgift, Jewell, Cosin, and Andrewes. He makes no attempt to understand what Reformation principles are ; he simply puts them aside with a

¹ The Churches of the early ages were mutually independent.

wave of his hand, and disparages every influence of the day except his own. He does not know what the principles of the "Catholic" Church are which were not acknowledged at the Reformation (he is prepared to dig them out by search from the Fathers): he has a profound attraction towards Romish Christianity; and he has so consummate a belief that he is right, and will be right, that when others do not agree with him he exclaims, "Hippocleides doesn't care!" Here are all the elements for grave mischief.

In 1832 and 1833 he was travelling with Froude and Froude's father in the south of Europe for Froude's health. When himself very ill, he conceived that he had a mission. "'I shall not die, for I have not sinned against light.' I have never been able to make out at all what I meant." Another day: "I sat down on my bed and began to sob bitterly. My servant, who had acted as my nurse, asked what ailed me. I could only answer, 'I have a work to do in England.'"

In this vague and mystic condition he reached his mother's house at Iffley on June 9th, 1833, and five days afterwards Keble preached his assize sermon at St. Mary's on National Apostasy. It was in reference to the dealings

of the Whigs with the Church. "Ten Irish bishoprics had been at a sweep suppressed, and Church people were told to be thankful that things were no worse. It was time to move if there was to be any moving at all." The Irish Church was overloaded with rich bishoprics; and if it would not reform itself, it does not seem unreasonable that the Crown should be advised by Parliament to carry out the reform. No doctrine was touched. However, the reform seemed in the highest degree Erastian, and the panic amongst Keble, Froude, William Palmer, Hugh Rose, and others produced the *Tracts for the Times*. To Rose, Newman characteristically dedicated one of his volumes of sermons as the man who "when hearts were failing bade us stir up the gift that was in us, and betake ourselves to our true Mother." To betake ourselves to the Lord of the Church would have been the true course and right expression. Newman's phrase seems to put the Church in the place of Christ.

The first meeting of the friends was between July 25th and 29th at Rose's rectory at Hadleigh. It was resolved to fight for the doctrine of Apostolical Succession and the

integrity of the Prayer Book. Two things are significant: the Church of England knows Apostolical Succession as a valuable fact, but not as a doctrine; and in the present day it is the supporters of Reformation principles who desire to maintain the integrity of the Prayer Book. The leaders of the extreme wing of the Oxford movement have written a book (*The Lord's Day and the Holy Eucharist*) with the express object of altering the Prayer Book to bring it into line with the mediæval and Romish Use of Sarum.

Newman, who was not present at Hadleigh, wrote the first Tract. It was on the topic, "I fear we have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built—OUR APOSTOLICAL DESCENT." But that is not by any means the ground of the Prayer Book. The Church of England's view of the first requisite of the Visible Church is PURITY OF PREACHING. This Newman neglects altogether. All historical Episcopal Churches (many would say Presbyterian also) may be credited with Apostolical Descent. Then why did we break off from the Roman? Because in it the pure Word of God was not preached. The strangely unscriptural tone of the address may be gathered

from the following: "They have been deluded into a notion that present palpable usefulness, produceable results, acceptableness to your flocks, that these and suchlike are the tests of your Divine Commission. Enlighten them in this matter. Exalt our Holy Fathers the Bishops, as the Representatives of the Apostles, and the Angels of the Churches; and magnify your office as being ordained by them to take part in their Ministry." "By their fruits shall ye know them," said Christ. "Call no man your father on the earth," was His command. The Church of England teaches that her officers receive their commission from Christ through the ministry of the existing generation of officers, as they through that of the preceding. Newman had an unfortunate and incurable tendency to take some side-issue, to distort it, and then to exaggerate it into the first place, sometimes into sole and exclusive importance. The same tendency runs through many of the Tracts. Many of the distinctive subjects which they take up are warped with the purpose of undoing the principles of the Reformation. The series ended with the celebrated No. 90, which asserted that there was nothing in the Thirty-nine Articles which, if properly explained,

could not be signed in a Roman sense. The protest of Archibald Tait, Tutor of Balliol (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), and three other tutors of colleges at Oxford brought the publication to an abrupt close.

"The *Tracts for the Times*," says Dean Church very justly, "were not the most powerful instruments in drawing sympathy to the movement. Without Mr. Newman's four o'clock sermons at St. Mary's, the movement might never have gone on, certainly would never have gone on, certainly would never have been what it was. While men were reading and talking about the Tracts they were hearing the sermons, and in the sermons they heard the living meaning and reason and bearing of the Tracts, their ethical affinities, their moral standard. The sermons created a moral atmosphere in which men judged the questions in debate." But at this distance of time it is quite possible to detach the sermons altogether from the Tracts. You can extract from the sermons all that is distinctive of the Tracts as apart from the principles of the Reformation, and their sublime beauty in moral and religious truth remains intact. That beauty consists in the grasp of the truths of Christianity, apart

from a narrow and more lately developed ecclesiasticism—in a concentrated enthusiasm for a lofty moral standard which is quite independent of views of Church Government, or of the nature of Christ's presence in Holy Communion, or of belief in a priestly mediatorial sacrifice, or of the various items of mediæval teaching. In all the passages in the sermons where such allusions occur, put the simpler teaching of Scripture and the Reformers in their place, and the sermons would suffer no loss in their dignity and impressiveness. Above all, their beauty consists in an almost matchless purity and strength of English style, which alone would make Newman a classic. Their defect is the same as in his other writings—a tendency to go off on some side-issue or minor consideration, and treat it as if it was the main line of thought and predominant argument. It is often very irritating, and to those who are not on the watch highly misleading. To Newman it was quite unconscious, and indeed the natural habit of his mind. Strong eccentricity was hereditary in his family, and in him it took the form of this want of logical judgment in combination with extreme argumentative acuteness and an overpowering

imagination. It should be noticed that knowledge of the Bible and skill in marshalling its facts and precepts are a prominent characteristic of these wonderful sermons. It is by the sermons that Newman obtained the almost unparalleled influence which for some years he wielded, and it is by them that he will live.

In 1835 Dr. Pusey, Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, formerly known as a rather liberal theologian, joined the movement, and "became, as it were, its official chief in the eyes of the world." In 1836 the appointment of Dr. Hampden by Lord John Russell to the Regius Professorship of Divinity roused a passionate storm of indignation, and did much to rally the friends of the movement and consolidate its forces. Hampden was a rather clumsy writer of a mildly liberal tendency, who delivered a set of Bampton Lectures to show that the Schoolmen had exercised considerable influence in the settlement of the terminology of doctrinal statement. He afterwards made a quiet, conscientious, loyal, and unobjectionable bishop. Newman took a lead in this opposition, isolated passages of Hampden's writings, and certainly made the worst of them. To define his position he published a series

of theological treatises, originally delivered as lectures in a chapel of St. Mary's: *The Prophetical Office of the Church viewed relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism; Justification; Disquisition on the Canon of Scripture*; and a *Tractate on Antichrist*. In these ways Newman was forming a school of opinion which "grew stronger and stronger every year, till it came into collision with the nation, and with the Church of the nation, which it began by professing especially to serve." Newman now also became editor of the *British Critic*, henceforth the chief Tractarian organ. "Compared with him," says Froude, all the rest were "but as ciphers, and he the indicating number."

It was in 1839 that Newman began to be doubtful about the truth of his *Via Media*. Reading about the Monophysite controversy, he began to fear that, as far as the organisation of the Catholic Church was concerned (to him a matter of such tremendous and overwhelming importance and difficulty; to the adherents of Reformation principles so wide and simple), the Anglican position was false. "I had seen the shadow of a hand on the wall. He who has seen a ghost cannot be as if he had never

seen it. The heavens had opened and closed again. The thought for the moment had been, 'The Church of Rome will be found right after all,' and then it vanished. My old convictions remained as before." Something else happened: he read a review by Cardinal Wiseman. The words of St. Augustine against the Donatists there quoted, "*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*" ("The united world makes no mistake in judgment"), seemed to him to pulverise the theory of the *Via Media*. The words "decided ecclesiastical questions on a simpler rule than that of antiquity." "From this time," says Dean Church, "the hope and exultation with which, in spite of checks, he had watched the movement gave way to uneasiness and distress."

The general condemnation of Tract 90 in 1841, especially by the Board of Heads of Houses, showed Newman that his place in the movement was gone. He gave up the *British Critic*. "Confidence in me was lost, but I had already lost full confidence in myself. The question was, What was I to do? I determined to be guided not by my imagination, but my reason. Had it not been for this severe resolve, I should have been a Catholic sooner than I was."

In 1841, too, it occurred to him, with regard to the Arians, that the Arians were the Protestants, the Semi-Arians the Anglicans, and that Rome was now what it was then. Further, the bishops, one after another, directed their charges against this combination of un-Reformed or Roman teaching with the principles of the Reformation. The Tractarian writers have constantly complained of the bishops for this; they think they ought to have accepted Newman's teaching with docility. But as they were themselves loyal sons of the Reformation, and as they probably understood the position and principles of the English Church better than was possible for Newman with his early bias towards Rome, they took the only course open to conscientious men in a responsible and authoritative position. Nothing is more pathetic than the calm and unhesitating manner in which Newman's great but tortuous intellect assumed all through that he was right and the bishops wrong. Lastly came the shock of the fraternisation of the English Church with the Lutheran Church of Prussia in the matter of the Jerusalem bishopric, which to Newman was monstrous and horrible.

"From the end of 1841 I was on my death-

bed as regards my membership with the Anglican Church, though at the time I became aware of it only by degrees." Next year he withdrew from Oxford and settled at Littlemore, a few miles out, "with several young men who had attached themselves to his person and to his fortunes, in the building which was not long in vindicating to itself the name of the Littlemore Monastery." "Here he passed the three years of painful anxiety and suspense which preceded his final decision to join the Roman Church, leading a life of prayer and fasting and of monastic seclusion."¹ "On the one hand I gradually came to see that the Anglican Church was formally in the wrong, on the other that the Church of Rome was formally in the right; then that no valid reason could be assigned for continuing in the Anglican, and again that no valid objections could be taken to joining the Roman." If only he could have put scriptural purity of doctrine before mere "formal" legitimacy and historical continuity! Or if he had really been a historian instead of dipping into history here and there, and could have seen how far nearer the English Church

¹ W. S. Lilly, *Dictionary of National Biography*.

of the Reformation is to the truly Primitive Church than the perpetually self-developing Church of Rome!

In February 1843 he published in the *Conservative Journal* a retraction of all the hard things he had said in controversy against Romanism. In September he resigned St. Mary's. In 1845 he began his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*. Ward of Balliol—a grotesque but exceedingly brilliant person, with an abnormal and prodigious aptitude for deductive logic, but not caring so much how he obtained his premisses, and with a contempt for history—was constantly pressing him with inconvenient questions and forcing him to make important admissions. As he went on with his essay his doubts about Rome disappeared. He was received in his house at Littlemore on October 9th by Father Dominic, the Passionist.

The lead of the Oxford movement passed into the hands of Dr. Pusey. In after-years it took the form of what is known as Ritualism or Sacerdotalism. About three thousand persons of education and influence have followed Dr. Newman's example in joining the Church of Rome. His influence on the Church of England has been even greater. When he died, the

Guardian claimed that the Church of England as we know it was the work of Newman. That is an exaggerated statement; but when once Dr. Pusey had taught his followers to reconcile Roman doctrines with the Reformed doctrine of the Prayer Book and the Articles, there was no limit to which Newman's "new Reformation" might not spread amongst men who received a bias at some theological college or from some pious and impressive teacher. The English Church Union—the most powerful body in the Church of England, deriving its strength as much from the piety as the opinions of its members—which is the principal organisation of the Oxford movement, contains 29 bishops (chiefly colonial), and upwards of 35,000 men, 4,200 of whom are in Holy Orders. They have published their President's appeal for union with Rome. The Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament has more than 15,000 members, of whom more than 1,600 are priests. There are upwards of 1,200 churches where the mediæval vestments are used. In a considerable number of churches the ritual is not easily distinguished by the observer from that of Rome. It is necessary to record these facts from the historical point of view, without any notion of criticism or com-

ment. I desire to place myself in Newman's position as an Anglican, and to measure the extent of his extraordinary influence.

Newman left Oxford on February 23rd, 1846, not to return for thirty-two years. Dr. Wiseman called him to Oscott. The same year he was ordained as a Roman priest at Rome, and made D.D. In 1847 he returned to England with a commission from Pope Pius IX. to introduce into England the institute of the Oratory, founded in the sixteenth century by St. Philip Neri. His successive residences were Maryvale, Old Oscott ; St. Wilfrid's College, Cheadle ; Alcester Street, Birmingham ; and Edgbaston. In 1850 he founded the London Oratory, the head of which was subsequently Faber.

In 1854 he went to Dublin as rector of the new Roman University, at the earnest invitation of the Irish Roman bishops, especially Archbishop Cullen. He was not suited for such work, and returned to Birmingham in 1858. In 1859 he established a school at Edgbaston for the sons of Roman Catholic gentlemen.

In 1868 was begun the new and uniform edition of his works, extending to thirty-six volumes, and concluded in 1881. In 1877 he was made Honorary Fellow of Trinity College,

Oxford. In 1879 he was made Cardinal by Pope Leo XIII., by the title of St. George in Velabro. He died at Edgbaston on August 11th, 1890.

The rock which sundered Newman's life was the demand for an authoritative exponent of precise dogmatic statement. The words of Christ and His Apostles are what have been given us by God, and the ecclesiastical societies of which Christendom is composed have for themselves drawn up outlines of belief for the union of individual Christians and the avoidance of error. Most important of these are the creeds of the undivided Church. More our Church does not expect. This did not satisfy Newman, who wanted a complete and definite system. "We have tried the Book," he wrote, "and it disappoints, because it is used for a purpose for which it was not given. Either no objective revelation has been given, or it has been provided with a means of impressing its objectiveness on the world." To the believer in Scriptural and Apostolical Christianity Christ Himself is the Revelation, and we need nothing more than to accept His work, person, and teaching as it was accepted by the Apostles; we realise His Divine influence in our own hearts, lives, and

consciences. "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life." "No man cometh unto the Father but by Me." We are content if our organisation is framed on Apostolic principles, and if there has been no historic break in the transmission of our commission from generation to generation. Newman wished to give the Church that homage and devotion, or part of it, which our own communion repudiates, and gives to Christ alone. It was long before he became convinced of the absolute incongruity of his position. There was much in the Church of Rome which it was difficult for him to accept. The claims of the Papacy were his greatest hindrance. But his conclusion was: "There is no help for it; we must either give up the belief in the Church as a Divine institution altogether, or we must recognise it in that communion of which the Pope is the head; we must take things as they are; to believe in a Church is to believe in the Pope." It was characteristic of Newman that he was convinced by a dilemma that did not exist.

A complete list of his numerous writings, and of the biographical sketches of him, is given in Mr. W. S. Lilly's excellent article on him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

X

PUSEY

THE GUIDE OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY was born August 22nd, 1800, in the fortieth year of the reign of George III., nine years after the death of Wesley, at Pusey House, Berkshire. He was about six months older than Newman. His father was the Hon. Philip Bouverie, son of Jacob, first Viscount Folkestone, by Elizabeth, daughter of the first Lord Romney, and granddaughter of the famous Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovell. Dr. Pusey's mother was Lady Lucy Sherard, daughter of Robert, fourth Earl of Harborough, Canon of Salisbury, and widow of Sir Thomas Cave.

The Bouverie family were Walloons from the Low Countries of Holland. Their religion was that of the French Reformed Confession, and for that they had been driven from their fatherland. In 1568 Laurence des Bouveries

took up his abode at Canterbury. In 1713 Sir William des Bouveries, a Turkey merchant in the City of London, was created a baronet; and it was his son, Sir Jacob, who was made a peer. One of Sir William's daughters married the fourth Earl of Shaftesbury, and was grandmother of the celebrated philanthropist, so that Dr. Pusey and Lord Shaftesbury were second cousins. Dr. Pusey was conscious of his Walloon extraction, and used to say, "You know I am phlegmatic, and indeed Dutch."

The Bouveries escaped giving their name to the vast ecclesiastical movement in the Church of England in the present century only by accident. Dr. Pusey's grandmother, the first Lady Folkestone, had two sisters-in-law, co-heiresses of the estate of Pusey in Berkshire, about twelve miles from Oxford; and to her second son, Philip, they left that property, and with it the name of Pusey, though the two families were not related in blood. Dr. Pusey's uncle, William, second Viscount Folkestone, was created Earl of Radnor in 1765, and was great-great-grandfather of the present popular holder of that title.

Dr. Pusey was the second son; his elder brother, Philip (who was many years member

for Berkshire, and the first country gentleman who was a free-trader), and his wife, Lady Emily Herbert (aunt of the late Lord Carnarvon, the Secretary of State), were throughout their lives on such intimate terms of affection with him that Pusey House never ceased to be his home. Dr. Pusey had a younger brother, William, Rector of Langley, in Kent; and two sisters,—Elizabeth, who married a clergyman, the son of Bishop Luxmoore, of St. Asaph; and Charlotte, wife of the well-known Evangelical Provost of Worcester, Dr. Cotton.

Dr. Pusey's father was a stern Tory, somewhat stiff, silent and unbending, an old-fashioned Churchman of a hard type, repressive in his treatment of children. The mother, Lady Lucy, the daughter of the peer-canon of Salisbury, was always spoken of by her son with great affection. She taught her children their religious principles in a plain, orthodox, Church of England way. "She used to talk to her son as if she represented a religious temper which had belonged to her race in earlier days. 'All that I know of religious truth,' Pusey used to say, 'I learnt, at least in principle, from my mother.'"

At the age of seven Pusey was sent to the

school of the Rev. Richard Roberts at Mitcham, Surrey, who made him a sound classical scholar, flogged him for cutting a pencil at both ends, flogged him for false quantities, made him proficient in Greek and Latin verses, and at the age of eleven forwarded him thoroughly equipped to Eton. Dr. Pusey used in after-life to say that he could have passed the Oxford Little-go before he went to Eton.

At Eton his master was the famous Dr. Keate, of whom the story is told that, finding one morning a row of boys in his study, he began, as usual, to flog them. They were too terrified at the awful little man to remonstrate till he had gone half-way down the row, when one plucked up courage to falter out, "Please, sir, we're not up for punishment: we're a confirmation class!" "Never mind," said Dr. Keate; "I must be fair all round, and it will do you good." So he finished them off. At Eton Pusey was no less diligent than at Mitcham. Edward Coleridge sat on the same bench with him, and afterwards wrote: "He did not engage in sports, did long exercises, and was very obscure in his style." Throughout life he was "a portentous student" and a heavy and clumsy writer. His

training in an English country house made him a fair shot and a good rider across country. His time at Eton coincided with Napoleon's later victories, the culmination of his power, and his overthrow ; and his observation of all this "contributed to develop that sense of the presence of God in human affairs, as attested by swift and awful judgments, which coloured so largely his religious convictions."¹

His Eton days were quiet and studious, and he gained no special honours. Before matriculating at Oxford he went to Buckden, near Huntingdon, where was the ancient palace of the Bishops of Lincoln, to read with a private tutor—Dr. Maltby, afterwards Bishop of Durham. He was "very happy with Maltby ; there were no black sheep at Buckden."

In January 1819 he entered Christ Church. At the same college was his second cousin, Lord Ashley, eight months his junior, the future philanthropist and Evangelical leader ; but for some reason Pusey declined to read for lectures with him, and there was no ripening of intimacy. In 1822 he took a First Class in Classics. Throughout his career as

¹ Liddon's *Life of Dr. Pusey*.

an undergraduate his life was clouded by his father's opposition to an engagement which he wished to make with Maria Raymond-Barker, daughter of a Mr. Raymond, who took the additional name on the estate of Fairford Park, Gloucestershire, being left him by a Miss Barker, whose grandfather had bought it from the Traceys. Miss Raymond-Barker was baptised as a Dissenter. But, whatever the reason was, there was opposition on both sides; and it was not till her father's death, in 1827, that the engagement was permitted in form. This trouble threatened to interfere with his preparation for the schools; but by prodigious and superhuman work during the last year, reading sometimes sixteen or seventeen hours a day (he described his life as "that of a reading automaton who might by patience be made a human being"), he succeeded. His strength "lay in accurate verbal scholarship rather than in philosophy."

After taking his degree he went for a tour of three months with a friend in Switzerland, where his depression from thwarted affection and an enthusiastic admiration for Byron produced a somewhat unhealthy tone. "The extreme force and beauty of Byron's poetry, combined with a

habit of deep, and in some degree morbid, feeling, which had always more or less a shade of gloom, induced us to give our assent to, and even in some measure exult in, feelings of whose full extent we were either at the time not aware, or at least against which we half, and but half, shut our eyes." About this time he conducted an argumentative correspondence with an atheistical friend from Eton, which produced the "conviction that the faith of Christ had, in the very heart of Christendom, implacable enemies, just as ready to crush it out of existence, if they could, as any who confronted the Apostles or the Church of the first three centuries."

In the same year, 1822, he was elected Fellow of Oriel, and obtained the Chancellor's medal for Latin Essay. Oriel was the first college that threw its Fellowships open, and thus for a time it held an intellectual pre-eminence. In these days it was specially brilliant: Copleston (afterwards Bishop of Llandaff and Dean of St. Paul's) was Provost; Davison and Arnold had lately given up their Fellowships; among the Fellows were William James, John Keble, Tyler, Whately (afterwards Archbishop of Dublin), Hawkins (afterwards Provost), and Jelf (afterwards Principal of King's College, London).

Newman was in his year of probation ; two years afterwards were elected Robert Wilberforce (the Archdeacon, brother of Samuel, Bishop of Oxford) and Richard Hurrell Froude (till his death the fogleman of the Oxford movement).

Newman gives a description of Pusey when an undergraduate, and guest of Jelf at the Oriel high table : " His light curly head of hair was damp with the cold water which his headache made necessary for his comfort ; he walked fast, with a young manner of carrying himself, and stood bowed, looking up from under his eyebrows ; his shoulders rounded, and his bachelor's gown not buttoned at the elbow, but hanging loose over his wrists. His countenance was very sweet, and he spoke little."

I remember him fifty years afterwards, in 1872, when I paid him a visit in his study at Christ Church, with a view to learning Hebrew. He seemed then rather below middle height, inclined to be stout, with long upper lip, and heavy cheeks hanging over a short, thick neck. His eyebrows were prominent, and he did not raise his eyes above the ground as he spoke. He wore a black velvet skull-cap at the back of his head, from which his white hair escaped in long wisps. He did not shave his whiskers, and wore the usual

white stock or neckcloth of old clergymen in those days. The mouth was long and heavy, but with much expression. On that occasion, and whenever he appeared, his look was one of the utmost gravity and seriousness. The study was not precise in arrangement, with books and papers piled on chairs, on the floor, in every available place and direction, even in the space of the bookshelves above the books.

During the Fellowship Examination he broke down from headache, and tore up his essay. Jenkyns, an examiner, put the pieces together, and showed them to the Fellows, who approved it. Later on Pusey retired altogether; but the Fellows sent for him, begged him to return, and he was elected.

"It must be owned," says Dr. Liddon, "that the Society of Oriel did not endow Dr. Pusey with its characteristic excellence of clear writing." Pusey described himself as shy, and expressing himself with hesitation and obscurity. He was not a logician. "To the end of his life Pusey's sermons were marked by a complete indifference to method and rhetorical effect." At the time of his preaching his first sermon, in 1828, a relation of his wife's describes him: "He is entirely engrossed with the subject of Divinity,

and unless upon that point is a silent man ; he listens and makes great observation on character, and always leans to the most amiable side in his judgment ; but he is not by the generality thought agreeable."

At this time people were saying that the new German theology of which they began to hear was full of interest. Dr. Lloyd, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, was then Regius Professor of Theology. One day he remarked to Pusey, "I wish you would learn something about those German critics." "Pusey set himself to learn German, and afterwards went to Germany himself. There he made acquaintance with Eichhorn, Tholuck, Schleiermacher, Neander, Freytag, Lücke, Sack, and others ; attended lectures at Göttingen, Berlin, Bonn, and elsewhere ; paid particular attention throughout to Hebrew and Arabic studies ; and finally returned in 1827, after spending the greater part of two years in that country. The visit largely determined the after-course of his life. 'My life,' he said to Liddon, 'turned on that hint of Lloyd's.'"

While Pusey was in Germany, the Rev. H. J. Rose, afterwards one of the precursors of the Oxford movement, published four lectures, delivered at Cambridge in May 1825, on *The*

State of Protestantism in Germany, attributing German heterodoxy largely to three causes: (1) want of diocesan episcopacy; (2) absence of binding articles; (3) need of a liturgy such as that of the English. Pusey took up the cudgels for his German friends. He returned to Oxford in 1827, and published his reply, *An Historical Inquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rationalist Character lately predominant in the Theology of Germany*, in two parts, in 1828 and 1830. He writes as a moderate Churchman of liberal tendencies; speaks habitually of the reformed communions of the Continent as "Churches"; never uses "Catholic" to distinguish episcopal communities; speaks enthusiastically of "the immortal heroes, the mighty agents of the Reformation"; objects that Rose's view "involved the abandonment of the fundamental principles in Protestantism, and derogates from the independence and the inherent power of the Word of God."

In 1828 he married the young lady of whom he had so long thought, Maria Raymond-Barker, who had, with her family, been attending the teaching of Mr. Close at Cheltenham, afterwards Dean of Carlisle. She and Pusey had long corresponded at great length on all kinds of

subjects, religious, ecclesiastical, social, and moral. Eventually she joined the Oxford movement heart and soul, and helped her husband by writing, and in other ways. She died in 1839, after eleven years of devoted married life.

In 1828 also Pusey was ordained Deacon, and Hawkins was elected as successor to Copleston as Provost of Oriel. The other candidate was Keble, and it was largely through Newman's influence that Hawkins was chosen. Newman thought him academically more suited for the post. In Keble the Tractarians would have had a sympathetic Head of a House; in Hawkins they subsequently found, when the movement developed, a critic and an antagonist.

In the same year, while only twenty-eight, Pusey was appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, in succession to Dr. Nicoll. His connections, attainments, high character, studious habits, his knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic, his visit to Germany, his account of German theology, all combined to point him out. He entered the house in "Tom Quad," looking on one side into the great court, on the other upon the street of St. Aldate's as it slopes towards the river, which was to be his for the remainder of his

life. During the next seven years he led a quiet scholarly life, devoting himself to the work of his Chair, providing classes in Hebrew, senior and junior, holding a weekly gathering of clergy, a Theological Society, of which he was the Moderator, for the reading of papers and discussion, and taking into his house theological students who were preparing for Orders. This afterwards issued for a time in a Divinity Hall. While his wife lived his house was a centre of much pleasant hospitality. He had ample means, and was known for his generous benefactions to the poor.

Then came that period of excitement which resulted in the *Tracts for the Times*. There was a feeling amongst the ardent young Oxford men, particularly some of the Oriel circle, that the Church was in danger, through being regarded too much as a political organism, to be moulded and modified at the will of politicians, without consent or consultation of the members of the Church. This led them to look at the Church more as a visible structure than as a spiritual principle. And when they had once regarded the external machinery as of the essence of the Church, they very easily turned towards the one largest section of Christendom which

had never passed through the cataclysms of the Reformation, nor become Protestant, but which had marched peacefully on from one stage of development to another, from the days of Cyprian to contemporary Roman Catholicism. In their endeavour to discover and bring forward what they believed to be true Church principles, they dived here and there into earlier ecclesiastical history with the best possible intentions, but showed little critical power in distinguishing true from false. Whatever they found in the Fathers they adopted, not seeing that the Fathers are frequently contradictory to themselves, to each other, and to Holy Scripture. Not being men of long-tried learning like the Reformers, they held the Reformers cheap, credited them with results for which they were in no way responsible, and shut their eyes to the real meaning and authority of their principles. Their leaders were a saintly Poet, a hot-headed Enthusiast, and an imaginative dreamer—Keble, Froude, Newman. They looked for a centre of unity more tangible than Christ, and for a source of authority other than the written words of Christ and His Apostles. It was of Sibthorp that Bishop Wilberforce said that “he held the *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* that unity is to be gained by

members of the Catholic Church through union with one visible centre": the charge of exaggerating the importance of external machinery applied to them all. They were dazzled by the picture of visible external unity (which never really existed) as inculcated by the writings of the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries, who had themselves begun (as they had in other points) to depart from the spiritual simplicity and majesty of St. Paul's teaching as to the Church. They made little of that only unity which is possible to imperfect human beings, the unity which necessarily comes from close personal union with Christ through a living faith. They made the Church an antecedent to grace instead of a consequent, a necessary condition of salvation instead of a relation arising out of baptism. They forgot the difference between the Jerusalem which is above, which is the mother of us all, the true invisible unmingled body of Christ, and the Jerusalem of the unreformed Catholic Church, from Cyprian downwards, which is in bondage with her children.

It would have been happy for the English Church if the youthful Professor of Hebrew could have watched the Tractarian movement from the responsible position of his Chair, and

from time to time corrected its errors and extravagances from his attitude of learned orthodoxy and former sympathy for the Reformation. But he was captivated by the εἰδῶλον of the essential unity and authority of the visible Church, and was ready with the Tractarians to confuse the attributes of the true spiritual invisible Church, as described by St. Paul, with those of the mere collection of genuine and spurious Christians in episcopal communities who make up the visible set of episcopal churches on earth, the mixed societies which aim in their different ways and degrees at reproducing on earth, for their part, as far as may be, the attributes of the true Holy Catholic Church, which is itself necessarily wider than any one of them. Speaking of the dangers of the Church of England from contemporary political movements, Cardinal Newman writes in his *Apologia*:

“It was under these circumstances that Dr. Pusey joined us. I had known him well since 1827-28, and had felt for him an enthusiastic admiration. I used to call him ὁ μέγας. His great learning, his immense diligence, his scholar-like mind, his simple devotion to the cause of religion, overcame me; and great, of course was

my joy when, in the last days of 1833, he showed a disposition to make common cause with us. His Tract on Fasting appeared as one of the series with the date of December 21st. He was not, however, I think, fully associated in the movement till 1835 and 1836, when he published his Tract on Baptism and started the Library of the Fathers. He at once gave to us a position and a name. Without him we should have had no chance, especially at the early date of 1834, of making any serious resistance to the Liberal aggression. But Dr. Pusey was a Professor and Canon of Christ Church ; he had a vast influence in consequence of his deep religious seriousness, the munificence of his charities, his Professorship, his family connections, and his easy relations with University authorities.

“Such was the benefit which he conferred on the movement externally ; nor was the internal advantage at all inferior to it. He was a man of large designs ; he had a hopeful, sanguine mind ; he had no fear of others ; he was haunted by no intellectual perplexities. People are apt to say that he was once nearer to the Catholic Church than he is now ; I pray God that he may be one day far nearer to the Catholic Church than he was then ; for I believe that, in his reason

and judgment, all the time that I knew him, he never was near to it at all. When I became a Catholic, I was often asked, 'What of Dr. Pusey?' When I said that I did not see symptoms of his doing as I had done, I was sometimes thought uncharitable. If confidence in his position is (as it is) a first essential in the leader of a party, Dr. Pusey had it.

"Dr. Pusey's influence was felt at once. He saw that there ought to be more sobriety, more gravity, more careful pains, more sense of responsibility, in the Tracts and in the whole movement. It was through him that the character of the Tracts was changed. When he gave to us his Tract on Fasting he put his initials to it. In 1835 he published his elaborate Treatise on Baptism, which was followed by other Tracts from different authors, if not of equal learning, yet of equal power and apposite-ness. The *Catenas* of Anglican divines which occur in the series, though projected, I think, by me, were executed with a like aim at greater accuracy and method. In 1836 he advertised his great project for a Translation of the Fathers."

As late as 1835 Pusey was able, in an inaugural Address to his Theological Society, to lay stress on the benefits of the Reformation, and to speak

of the Lutheran and Reformed "Churches." He is still a little afraid of Newman, and tells his wife that he will "scare people." But Newman's influence over him rapidly increased, and the two soon became the Castor and Pollux of the movement.

Pusey's first contribution to the Tracts was one on Fasting, signed with his initials, which contains nothing specifically characteristic of Tractarianism. It was in 1835, five years after the publication of the second part of his *Inquiry* in answer to H. J. Rose, that he gave in a thorough adherence by the unsigned Tract on Baptism. It is not quite clear whether this or the sermon in Christ Church Cathedral on "Sin after Baptism" came first; but they taught the same doctrine. The sermon was on Heb. vi. 4-6, where the inspired writer gives as a reason for not spending time in laying again the foundation principles of Christianity, that it is impossible for those "who were once enlightened . . . if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance, seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put Him to an open shame." This obviously refers to apostate Hebrews, who gave up Christianity, and went back to the Law, joining hands with the crucify-

ing Jews. Then it was quite hopeless to attempt to convert over again, and therefore it was unnecessary then and there to speak about the elementary principles of Christianity. All whom the writer intended to be addressing must be supposed to know and to hold them. But Pusey, with calm confidence and uncritical exegesis, takes "enlightened" to mean "baptised," and apostasy or falling away to mean wilful sin after baptism. "As if to bring every baptised Christian on his knees before him, he preached from a well-known startling text in the Epistle to the Hebrews, drawing from it the doctrine, so at least he was understood, that wilful sin after baptism is never wholly forgiven. The burden of the sermon was the word 'irreparable,' pronounced every now and then with the force of a judgment. . . . In his anxiety to bring his hearers to the very verge of the pit of destruction, he seemed to be pushing them into it without a way of escape."¹

What Pusey was expected immediately to define was the nature of wilful sin after baptism, and the means, if any, of restoring those who had fallen into wilful sin. He himself intended to

¹ Mozley, "*Times*" *Biography*, and *Reminiscences*.

write a second part to the Tract on Baptism (which he afterwards enlarged into a book called *The Doctrine of Holy Baptism*). But the second part never appeared. It was in his subsequent ceaseless inculcation of the Roman system of the Confessional, and of the ministry of Reconciliation through Priestly Absolution, that he supplied the deficiency. He himself said in after-years, "From the moment of my completing the Tract on Baptism, I felt that I should have written on Christian repentance, on confession and absolution."

His cramped and mechanical view of Christianity led him into what was practically the teaching of the Council of Trent on Baptism. The Reformers define Baptism as "a sign of Regeneration or New Birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive Baptism RIGHTLY are grafted into the Church; the promises of the forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; Faith is confirmed, and Grace increased, by virtue of prayer unto God." They teach that of persons to be baptised two things are required: "Repentance, whereby they forsake sin; and Faith, whereby they steadfastly believe the promises of God made to them in

that Sacrament." These requirements are their explanation of the word *RIGHTLY*. In other words, the benefits of Baptism (as of Holy Communion) are dependent on the repentance and faith of the recipients (or their sponsors). Grace may be given us before Baptism, may lead us to submit to Baptism, may establish our faith before Baptism. Baptism is a necessary act of faith and obedience, of initiation into the Church, of making covenant on our part with God, and of receiving the seal of His promises on His. But it does not confine His grace, which is as free, unlimited, and infinite as Himself. Cornelius received the Holy Ghost before he was baptised. The disciples on the Day of Pentecost, when they received the Holy Ghost, had not been baptised according to the new Christian formula. Some of them, like our Lord Himself, had been baptised by John. Throughout St. Paul's Epistles there is not the faintest shadow of a tendency to confine grace to Baptism and subsequent rites. It is only an arbitrary and a biassed exegesis that can put such a strain on the abundant freedom of St. Paul's words. However necessary and important Holy Baptism is, it is not the exclusive channel of grace which it appeared to Pusey. Baptismal

Regeneration is to the English Church a change of state, not a change of nature.

Many passages would illustrate Pusey's doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. Here is one which shows how he gathered together into it as far as he could the varied and wide processes of that Divine Being who is as the wind that bloweth where it listeth :

“No change of heart, then, or of the affections ; no repentance, however radical ; no faith, no life, no love, comes up to the idea of this ‘birth from above’ ; it takes them all in and comprehends them all, but itself is more than all : it is not only the creation of a new heart, new affections, new desires, and, *as it were*, a new birth, but it is an *actual* birth from above or from God, a gift coming down from God, and given to faith, through Baptism ; yet not the work *of* faith, but the operation *of* ‘water and the Holy Spirit.’”

This reminds us of the words of the Catechism of the Council of Trent. In baptism “the soul is replenished with Divine grace. But grace is not only that whereby sin is remitted, but is also a Divine quality inherent in the soul, and as it were a certain splendour and light, that efface all the stains of our souls, and

render the souls themselves brighter and more beautiful. To this is added a most noble train of all virtues, which are Divinely infused into the soul with grace." How different all this imaginative exaggeration and confusion of many Divine processes from the true, simple, reasonable view expressed by the words of the Reformers in our Baptismal Office! "Baptism doth represent unto us our profession; which is, to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and to be made like unto Him; that as He died, and rose again for us, so should we, who are baptised, die from sin, and rise again unto righteousness, continually mortifying all our evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of living!"

Pusey's view of baptism being of this kind, those who have committed wilful sin after baptism have lost the life imparted, have fallen from grace and Christ, and incurred an "irreparable" forfeiture. "In the Preface to his first sermon on 'Entire Absolution to the Penitent,' referring to penitents, he says: 'They wish to be, and to know that they are, in a state of grace. God has provided a means, however deeply they have fallen, to replace them in it.' And then he explains what is the

means so provided of God. 'By His absolving sentence,' he says, 'God does efface the past.' But inasmuch as they 'cannot estimate their own repentance and faith, God has provided physicians of the soul to relieve and judge for those who "open their griefs" to them.' Such was Dr. Pusey's doctrine. It is not the Spirit of God, the 'Spirit of adoption,' imparted from above to the penitent and believing suppliant, that delivers from the 'spirit of bondage unto fear.' It is the voice of the priest-physician, declaring 'the absolving sentence' of God, whereby He 'effaces the past.' It is the priest-physician judicially 'estimating the repentance and faith' of the penitent, who 'judges for' and, when he is satisfied, 'relieves those who open their griefs' to him. As the priest, under the Mosaic Law, examined the leper, and either pronounced him clean, or sent him back to his seclusion as unclean, so the Anglican priest, the Anglican 'physician,' according to Dr. Pusey's doctrine of faith and salvation, examines and judges as to the state of the penitent, and either 'estimates' his repentance and faith to be sufficient, and accordingly restores him to the congregation of the faithful, declaring, as God's voice, that

the 'past is effaced,' or else judges them to be insufficient, and sends him back to prolonged penance, with directions to return and submit himself for judgment on a future day. Thus the penitent may get comfort from the priest, but from him alone can receive any sure or lawful comfort. Here, in this 'sacrament of confession and absolution,' and here alone, is the rightful source of consolation for the troubled conscience. For venial sin, indeed, for hasty and unconscious transgression, the daily confession in the public prayers at church, and the public absolution from the priest following thereupon—the whole service being read and interpreted under high Anglo-Catholic light—might be sufficient. But for all wilful sin that troubled the conscience the one true and legitimate remedy was the confessional."

In the published works of Dr. Pusey five of the *Tracts for the Times* are printed: two on Fasting (the 18th and 66th), two on Baptism (the 67th and 69th), and one on the Danger of Ridicule in Religion. In 1841 and 1842 he took a very active part in defending Newman on his publication of the famous Tract No. 90, which upheld the view that the Thirty-nine Articles, though written to repudiate Roman

doctrine, might be subscribed by men holding the chief doctrines of the Roman Church. Dr. Pusey's own view is expressed in these words :

"I have long been convinced that there is nothing in the Council of Trent which could not be explained satisfactorily for us, if it were to be explained authoritatively. . . . This involves the conviction that there is nothing in our Articles which cannot be explained rightly as not contradicting anything to be held *de fide* in the Roman Catholic Church."¹

He was an adept at casuistical argument, and he employed such reasoning as the following :

"Our reformers, our canons, and the combined teaching of our approved divines, all refer us to antiquity, and to the authority of the Primitive Church. If we find anything in the Church's formularies which, according to any received interpretation, is inconsistent with that model, are we not bound to inquire whether that is the only possible interpretation? And if of two possible interpretations one, even though it be a little strained, is in accordance with antiquity, while the other is not, ought we not to choose the former?"

¹ Letter to the *Tablet*, November 22nd, 1865.

Ten years afterwards Dr. Pusey published an Historical Preface to Tract No. 90, which was edited by Mr. Keble, in which he justified its principal positions.¹

His mind, with its characteristic defect of logical force and training, does not see that, before this argument can be of any weight whatever, you have to determine what are the limits of antiquity and of the Primitive Church. Most writers of the Reformed Church would say, with Bishop Lightfoot, that when Cyprian had introduced the principles of sacerdotalism into Christianity from pagan sources, then antiquity, though an interesting witness, is not a safe guide. They would also hold that amongst the writers of antiquity by far the most important are the Apostles and Evangelists, who wrote the inspired and living message of God, and who are quite clear enough with the help of the Holy Spirit. They would hold, with the English Reformers, that the Fathers contain both weeds and herbs, and that it was the duty of the Christian to choose the herbs and avoid the weeds. But Dr. Pusey, with a quiet and meek persistence, carefully

¹ *Record*, September 22nd, 1882.

selected what the Reformers considered the weeds.

After taking a vigorous part in the opposition to Dr. Hampden, on his appointment as Regius Professor of Divinity, for his views on the growth of dogmatic phraseology, which resulted in Hampden being prevented from taking any part in the nomination of select preachers, Dr. Pusey himself, in 1843, fell under the censure of the University for a sermon called "The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent," in which he seemed to go as near to the doctrine of the Church of Rome as could be. The *Times* biography gives the following account of the episode :

"The Vice-Chancellor sent for the sermon, with an intimation that action would be taken upon it. No doubt Dr. Pusey immediately set to work elaborating his defence, and adding to his pile of testimonies from all ages of the Church. Soon, however, he heard that the Vice-Chancellor had revived for the occasion a long-forgotten statute empowering the Vice-Chancellor to create a tribunal of six Doctors for the trial of any person preaching or teaching contrary to the received doctrines of the University. What was more,

he was informed that the sermon was all they required ; they had it, and therefore did not want the presence of the writer. Dr. Pusey remonstrated publicly, officially, and through one who claimed to be a friend in the Board of six Doctors. The Board, however, had its difficulties. The sermon was guarded from the Romish doctrine. It savoured not of Transubstantiation, but of Consubstantiation, and one of the members of the Board reminded his colleagues that Consubstantiation was preached in the precincts of St. James's Palace to the German members of the Royal Household, and was, in fact, the creed of Luther and of such as still hold to him, including some of the reigning German families. The Board must therefore take care what it was about. It did. It said not a word about the sermon, but suspended Dr. Pusey from the use of the University pulpit for two years. The actual result was to put the six Doctors and their adherents in the wrong, and make a martyr of Dr. Pusey, who went on writing and publishing more than ever, and was now much more read than he had ever been. His first sermon after the expiration of the sentence was on 'The Entire Absolution of the Penitent.' This

sermon caused a very general outcry among the clergy, and the heads of houses generally disapproved of it ; but nothing further was done to censure it in positive terms. From that time forward Dr. Pusey began to hear the confessions of those who were willing to come to him in order to 'open their griefs' and to administer the comfort of absolution. In fact, from that day forward the confessional has held a place in the practical system of the Church of England as administered by its Anglo-Catholic sons, and the bishops have been either unable or unwilling to suppress it."

In October 1845 Newman was received into the Roman Church. The blow was very heavy to Pusey ; but he never entertained any idea of following his friend's example. His office was to unprotestantise the Church of England, to undo what he regarded as the mischief of the Reformation, and to bring back the standards of doctrine and practice which prevailed in the mediæval Church. Newman, Manning, and their friends desired to bring over individuals to the bosom of the unreformed Church ; Pusey formed the larger conception of bringing the whole reformed Church of England into line with Rome. Newman

had long meditated the step, but Pusey was so determined not to believe it that Newman found it difficult to convince him. He wrote letters to be shown to Pusey.

“On receiving these letters, my correspondent, if I recollect rightly, at once communicated the matter of them to Dr. Pusey, and this will enable me to state, as nearly as I can, the way in which my changed state of opinion was made known to him. I had from the first a great difficulty in making Dr. Pusey understand such differences of opinion as existed between himself and me. He would not take any hints which I gave him on the subject of my growing inclination to Rome. When I found him so determined, I often had not the heart to go on. And then I knew that, from affection for me, he so often took up and threw himself into what I said that I felt the great responsibility I should incur if I put things before him just as I might view them. And, not knowing him so well as I did afterwards, I feared lest I should unsettle him. A common friend of ours broke it all to him in 1841, as far as matters had gone at that time, and showed him clearly the logical conclusions which must lie in

propositions to which I had committed myself ; but, somehow or other, in a little while his mind fell back into its former happy state, and he could not bring himself to believe that he and I should not go on pleasantly together to the end. But that affectionate dream needs must have been broken at last ; and two years afterwards that friend to whom I wrote the letters which I have just now inserted set himself, as I have said, to break it. Upon that, I too begged Dr. Pusey to tell in private to any one he would that I thought in the event I should leave the Church of England. However, he would not do so, and at the end of 1844 had almost relapsed into his former thoughts about me, if I may judge from a letter of his which I have found. Nay, at the Commemoration of 1845, a few months before I left the Anglican Church, I think he said about me to a friend, ‘I trust, after all, we shall keep him.’ ”

Newman’s secession left Pusey as sole head of the Tractarian, Oxford, Anglo-Catholic, or Mediæval movement. “Pusey,” says a discriminating writer, “took his position as the great spiritual teacher and preacher of the patristic revival. The solemnity of his tone

continually deepened ; his consecration of life was more and more recognised ; his earnestness was profound and contagious ; sin and holiness, the solemnities of life and death, were the themes of his awakening sermons. The great sorrow of his life—the loss of his wife—came upon him before the excitement occasioned by his baptismal utterances had passed away. Even in connection with her death there is a touching, but surely also a painful, example in which his legal and, in honest truth, Pharisaic teaching had taken hold of the wife he so passionately loved, and who seems to have been so worthy of his love. As we have already noted, Mrs. Pusey had been baptised by a Dissenter. In her last lingering illness this matter disturbed her peace. She could not find ‘rest to her soul’ simply in her Saviour ; she could find no peace till ‘conditional baptism’ had been administered to her. Newman accordingly re-baptised her. . . . Her death (in 1839) left Pusey disconsolate. Not only so : he regarded this sorrow and bereavement as a chastisement laid on him for his sins, and himself as only fit to be regarded as a lifelong penitent, who was to take his place alongside of guilty sinners at the feet of Jesus,

his duty through life being *facere pœnitentiam*. This feeling deepened the sombre tone of his saintliness . . . and increased the severity of his discipline both towards himself and others. From this time he lived an absolutely secluded life. He shut up the drawing-room at his Christ Church house, never to open it again; he did not go into public; he shunned society."

The mediæval character of his self-discipline is indicated by the following letter written in 1844 to his friend Hope (afterwards Hope-Scott, of Abbotsford) when travelling on the Continent :

"There is yet a subject on which I should like to know more, if you fall in with persons who have the guidance of consciences—what penances they employ for persons whose temptations are almost entirely spiritual, of delicate frames often, and who wish to be led on to perfection. I see in a spiritual writer that, even for such, corporal severities are not to be neglected, but so many of them are unsafe. I suspect the 'discipline' to be one of the safest, and with internal humiliation the best. . . . Could you procure and send me one by B.? What was described to me was of a very sacred character—five cords, each with five knots, in

memory of the five wounds of our Lord. . . I should be glad to know also whether there were any cases in which it is unsafe, *e.g.* in a nervous person."

One of the least pleasing phases in the life of Pusey is the story of St. Saviour's, Leeds. Almost immediately after the death of his wife in order to carry out his plan of penitent self-sacrifice, he thought of building this church and combining in it all the results of his teaching and opinions. It was to be the concrete model of all that was meant by the Oxford movement. His friend Hook was Vicar of the Parish Church and the way seemed clear. Pusey took an enthusiastic interest in it from the beginning; it was to be the completest and richest type in all respects. The famous Church windows (probably painted by Holbein) in his wife's home at Fairford were to be rivalled; his friends were to contribute their jewels for enriching chalice, paten, and cross: unfortunately Keble had none. There were difficulties from the beginning even about the consecration; the amiable Bishop of Ripon (Longley, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) foresaw what was coming, and was particularly cautious about images and inscriptions. The whole story is

told at length by Dr. Liddon in the biography: the indignation of Dr. Hook at the Romanising ways of the new clergy; his plain-dealing with Pusey for his hair-splitting, "reserve," and "economy"; the secessions to Rome. Perhaps the example of St. Saviour's strengthened for the time by the influence of reaction the preaching of the true Gospel of Christ. There were men in Leeds capable of turning all the excitement and scandal to the best ends, and to the true glory of God.

In 1850 Dr. Pusey remonstrated against the Gorham judgment on Baptismal Regeneration. He also wrote vigorously against *Essays and Reviews*; and it is curious to note that the main positions of that work with regard to the Old Testament are now adopted by his own school. He took the lead in a committee formed to see what could be done to prevent Dr. Temple, who is now trusted as much by High Churchmen as by any other party in the Church, from being made a bishop. He protested also against Dean Stanley being appointed Select Preacher.

He was a voluminous writer. His *Library of the Fathers* was a great work, and so was his Commentary on the Minor Prophets. His

defence of the Book of Daniel was specially learned and valuable.

Dr. Pusey's share in the revival of Sisterhoods in the English Church was thus sketched by the *Standard*: Dr. Pusey's eldest daughter, Miss Lucy Pusey, had long entertained a desire to become a Sister of Mercy, and after her death, which occurred before she had been able to put her aspiration into practice, it became a sacred obligation with her family to endeavour to give effect to her wishes. A few years afterwards Miss Sellon was invited by the then Bishop of Exeter to make a similar attempt, and this at once brought her into communication with Dr. Pusey, who saw in her the instrument of accomplishing what his daughter had so earnestly desired. The two together founded the first Sisterhood, and in process of time Dr. Pusey became its warden and chaplain. Nor did he shrink, when necessary, from taking a personal share in the self-imposed labours of the Sisterhoods. In 1866, when the cholera was so bad in the north-east parts of London, Dr. Pusey took lodgings near the City Road, to be in the immediate neighbourhood of the outbreak, and to cheer with his presence and counsel the charitable

women who spent their days and nights among the sick. In his later days Dr. Pusey would leave Oxford during the vacation, and in a single room, in a small cottage, in the pine woods of Ascot, pursue his studies alone. Miss Sellon had with him built a Convalescent Hospital in the middle of some forty acres of heath and pines which she purchased not far from Ascot. The sick poor came from the East of London, where Miss Sellon's Sisters worked, and from the London hospitals, to reap such good as he could provide for them. It was his pleasure to be near them, to join in their services, to witness the devoted work of the Sisters; and it was here he passed away.

The Sisters have everywhere been enthusiastic promoters of the mediæval movement; let us add, of much Christian philanthropy.

Dr. Pusey died quietly on Saturday, September 16th, 1882, in his eighty-third year, of no specific illness, but decay of nature. He was never robust, and had been enfeebled by several severe illnesses — bronchitis, pleurisy, weakness of the heart. He lived a life of the greatest self-devotion of the Roman type, and his work may be summed up by the fact that Lord Halifax, the President of the English

Church Union, is able at the present day to say, without contradiction from the thirty-six thousand members of that society, that there is now no difference of sentiment or opinion between themselves and the Church of Rome.

Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, himself a High Churchman of the modern type, was obliged to write to him: "I firmly believe the influence of your personal ministry does more than the labours of a personal enemy to wean from the pure faith and simple ritual of our Church the affections of many amongst her children. . . . You seem to me to be habitually assuming the place and doing the work of a Roman confessor, and not that of an English clergyman."

Pusey's influence, continuing that of Newman, has been thus described by an adverse critic, Cardinal Vaughan: "The very Establishment which was set up in rivalry to the Church, with a royal supremacy triumphantly pitted against a Papal supremacy—this very Establishment has changed its temper and attitude. [A section of its] . . . ministers and people are busily engaged in ignoring or denouncing those very Articles which were drawn up to be their eternal protest against the old religion.

The sacramental power of orders, the need of jurisdiction, the Real Presence, the daily sacrifice, auricular confession, prayers and offices for the dead, belief in purgatory, the invocation of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, religious vows, and the institution of monks and nuns—the very doctrines stamped in the Thirty-nine Articles as fond fables and blasphemous deceits—all these are now openly taught from a thousand pulpits in the Establishment, and as heartily embraced by as many crowded congregations.” This somewhat indiscriminating statement is made in language which in some details none of us inside the English Church would adopt; but many High Churchmen sincerely lament the extremes into which a section of the movement has drifted.

From a good man, however, whether we agree with him or not, we know that good must come. The self-sacrificing zeal of Dr. Pusey’s followers has in instances past counting been an example to the Church; and the influence of his work, in combination with the revival of Romantic æstheticism, in adding beauty to churches and church services, is universally acknowledged.

XI

ARNOLD

THE ADVOCATE OF LIBERAL THEOLOGY

THE name of Dr. Arnold is a household word in England, not only as the great typical Christian schoolmaster, but as the leader of modern Liberal or Broad Church theology. Much that is called Liberal or Broad Church at the present time would be utterly abhorrent to his mind ; but he was certainly a pioneer of freedom of thought in the Church of England, within the limits of the New Testament.

Thomas Arnold, seventh child and youngest son of William Arnold and his wife Martha Delafield, was born on June 13th, 1795, at West Cowes, Isle of Wight, five years before Dr. Pusey. His family had lived there for two generations, but had migrated from Suffolk. His father was a collector of customs, and died (as Dr. Arnold afterwards died) from spasm of the heart, on March 3rd, 1801.

Little Tom, a dearly cherished favourite in the family, was prepared for school by his aunt, Miss Delafield. At Cowes he learned to delight in the sea, to know the flags of the many Continental ships that floated in the Solent during the great war, and was roused to a sense of the greatness of history by the mighty events that were happening. His intense love of local association received its first stimulus and creation from his father's grounds at Slatwoods, Cowes.

In 1803 he went to Dr. Griffiths' preparatory school at Warminster, Wilts. At the age of three he had been presented by his father with Smollett's *History of England* as a reward for accuracy in going through the stories about the portraits and pictures which illustrated the reigns; he was also notably quick with his games of geographical cards. A Warminster schoolfellow writes of him: "Arnold's delight was in preparing for some part of the siege of Troy: with a stick in his right hand, and the cover of a tin box or any flat piece of wood tied upon his left arm, he would come forth to the battle, and from Pope's *Homer* would pour forth fluently the challenge or the reproach. His whole soul seemed full of the

exploits both of Greeks and Trojans, and his memory amply stored with the poet's verse. Every book he had was easily recognised as his property by helmets and shields, and Hector and Achilles, on all the blank leaves; many of mine had some token of his graphic love of those heroes."

In 1807 he entered as a commoner at Winchester, afterwards becoming scholar of the college. He was successively under Dr. Goddard, who had great tact in managing boys, and Dr. Gabell, famous for skill in imparting scholarship.

Dean Stanley says that he was then, as always, of a shy and retiring disposition; but his manner as a child, and till his entrance at Oxford, was marked by a stiffness and formality the very reverse of the joyousness and simplicity of his later years. His family and schoolfellows both remembered him as unlike those of his own age, and with peculiar pursuits of his own; and the tone and style of his early letters, which have been for the most part preserved, were such as might naturally have been produced by living chiefly in the company of his elders, and reading, or hearing read to him before he could read himself, books suited to a more advanced age.

Both as a boy and as a young man, says his biographer, he was remarkable for a tendency to indolence, amounting almost to a constitutional infirmity; and though his after-life showed how completely this was overcome by habit, yet he often said that early rising was a daily effort to him, and that in this instance he never found the truth of the usual rule of all things being made easy by custom. With this, however, was always united great occasional energy; and one of his schoolfellows gave it as his impression of him that he was stiff in his opinions, and utterly immovable by force or fraud, when he had made up his mind, whether right or wrong.

He did not like the Winchester custom of reciting with action. He thought it "uncommonly useless." "What use can it be of," he wrote, "to be able to get up and spout like an Actor? If we were all designed for the Stage, I should think such lessons very necessary; but as Gentlemen, I do think the whole totally useless. For the only three sorts of Eloquence in Practice in this country are those of the Senate, the Law, and the Pulpit. The Pulpit only requires simple reading, and I apprehend that a person will be but little qualified for the Senate or the Law by having

learnt at school to spout Milton and Gray, accompanied with action which is frequently ridiculous. If they would teach their scholars to read, they would be of some service to them ; as it is my firm belief there are not above thirty fellows in this school that can read tolerably. Indeed, I think that this neglect of teaching Boys to read is the Reason that we so often see Clergymen in the Pulpit whose reading would disgrace a Child of seven years old." He was evidently somewhat confident in his boyish opinions. About reading he was clearly right ; as to the principles of rhetoric and declamation, it is generally acknowledged that they are of real importance in the three professions he names. The audience was " Officers, Prebend[arie]s, the Warden, Fellows, Masters, Tutors, and I don't know who besides." " I was drest as follows : Breeches (cords), with their strings tied in my very best manner (bad, I am sure, is the best, you will say), white cotton stockings, clean shoes, my best blue Waistcoat and best Gown, a clean neckcloth and Band, and hands washed as white as ever Lydia's are !"

At Warminster he had read Priestley's *Lectures on History* ; at Winchester, Russell's *Modern*

Europe; and Gibbon and Mitford twice. He thought half Roman history false or scandalously exaggerated, and preferred Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon as "modest, unaffected, and impartial."

In 1811, at the early age of sixteen, he was elected Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. In 1814 he obtained a First Class in Literæ Humaniores; in 1815 he was elected Fellow of Oriel; and he gained the Chancellor's prize for the two University Essays in 1815 and 1817.

Corpus contained twenty fellows, twenty scholars, four exhibitioners, and six gentlemen commoners. The most distinguished of Arnold's collegiate friends were John Keble and Justice Coleridge. Coleridge says of him: "He was ready to take part in our discussions (in the junior common-room); he was fond of conversation on serious matters, and vehement in argument; fearless, too, in advancing his opinions—which, to say the truth, often startled us a good deal; but he was ingenuous and candid; and though the fearlessness with which, so young as he was, he advanced his opinions might have seemed to betoken presumption, yet the good temper with which he bore retort or rebuke relieved him from that imputation;

he was bold and warm, because, so far as his knowledge went, he saw very clearly, and he was an ardent lover of truth, but I never saw in him even then a grain of vanity or conceit. . . . In the end a considerable modification of his opinions was produced; and in one of his letters to me, at a much later period, he mentions this change. . . . He became attached to young men of the most different tastes and intellects, his love for each taking a different colour, more or less blended with respect, fondness, or even humour, according to those differences; and in return they all uniting in love and respect for him."

In 1815 he was elected Fellow of Oriel. Four years he resided on his fellowship, amidst a group of some of the ablest men in the University: Copleston,¹ Davison, Whately,² Keble,³ Hawkins,⁴ Hampden.⁵ Newman and Pusey were elected soon after he left.

Arnold felt the same difficulty which most young, ardent, independent, intellectual, and active minds experience, from one point of view or another, in subscribing the large number of propositions contained in the Thirty-nine

¹ Provost, Bishop of Llandaff.

² Archbishop of Dublin.

³ The poet.

⁴ Provost.

⁵ Bishop of Hereford.

Articles, which was a step necessary to Holy Orders. "His was an anxiously inquisitive mind, and a scrupulously conscientious heart. His inquiries, previously to his taking Orders, led him on to distressing doubts on certain points in the Articles; these were not low nor rationalistic in their tendency, according to the bad sense of that term; there was no indisposition in him to believe merely because the Articles transcended his reason; he doubted the proof and the interpretation of the textual authority. His state was very painful, and I think morbid; for I remarked that the two occasions on which I was privy to his distress were precisely those in which to doubt was against his dearest schemes of worldly happiness, and the consciousness of this seemed to make him distrustful of the arguments which were intended to lead his mind to acquiescence. Upon the first occasion to which I allude he was a Fellow of Oriel, and in close intercourse with one of the friends I have before mentioned, then also a Fellow of the same college. To him, as well as to me, he opened his mind, and from him he received the wisest advice, which he had the wisdom to act upon. He was bid to pause in his inquiries, to pray earnestly for

help and light from above, and turn himself more strongly than ever to the practical duties of a holy life. He did so, and through severe trials was finally blessed with perfect peace of mind and a settled conviction."¹

In 1818 he was ordained deacon, and in 1819 he settled at Laleham, a quiet village in the valley of the Thames, near Staines, below the heights of Windsor, to take private pupils in preparation for the University. In 1820 he married Mary, daughter of the Rev. John Penrose, and sister of one of his earliest friends.

His religious principles and life are thus described by Stanley :

"From this time forward the peculiarities of his boyhood and early youth entirely disappear ; the indolent habits—the morbid restlessness and occasional weariness of duty—the indulgence of vague schemes without definite purpose—the intellectual doubts which beset the first opening of his mind to the realities of religious belief, when he shared at least in part the state of perplexity which in his later sermons he feelingly describes as the severest of earthly trials, and which so endeared to him throughout life the

¹ Justice Coleridge.

story of the confession of the Apostle Thomas—all seem to have vanished away, and never again to have diverted him from the decisive choice and energetic pursuit of what he set before him as his end and duty. From this time forward no careful observer can fail to trace that deep consciousness of the invisible world, and that power of bringing it before him in the midst and through the means of his most active engagements, which constituted the peculiarity of his religious life, and the moving spring of his whole [existence]. It was not that he frequently introduced sacred names in writing or in conversation, or that he often dwelt on Divine interpositions; where many would have done so without scruple, he would shrink from it; and in speaking of his own religious feelings, or in appealing to the religious feelings of others, he was, except to those most intimate with him, exceedingly reserved. But what was true generally of the thorough interpenetration of the several parts of his character was peculiarly true of it in its religious aspect. His natural faculties were not unclothed, but clothed upon; they were at once coloured by, and gave a colour to, the belief which they received. It was his common acts of life, whether public or private,

that most exhibited the depth of his religious convictions; it was in his manner of dwelling on religious subjects that the characteristic tendencies of his mind chiefly displayed themselves.

“Accordingly, whilst it is impossible, for this reason, to understand his religious belief except through the knowledge of his life and writings, it is impossible, on the other hand, to understand his life and writings without bearing in mind how vivid was his realisation of those truths of the Christian revelation on which he most habitually dwelt. It was this that enabled him to undertake labours which, without such a power, must have crushed or enfeebled the spiritual growth which in him they seemed only to foster. It was the keen sense of thankfulness consciously awakened by every distinct instance of his many blessings which, more than anything else, explained his close union of joyousness with seriousness. In his even tenor of life it was difficult for any one who knew him not to imagine ‘the golden chain of heavenward thoughts and humble prayers by which, whether standing or sitting, in the intervals of work or of amusement, he linked together his more special and solemn devotions’;¹

¹ *Sermons*, iii. 277.

or not to trace something of the consciousness of an invisible Presence in the collectedness with which, at the call of his common duties, he rose at once from his various occupations ; or in the calm repose which, in the midst of his most active labours, took all the disturbing accidents of life as a matter of course, and made toil so real a pleasure and relaxation so real a refreshment to him. And in his solemn and emphatic expressions on subjects expressly religious ; in his manner of awful reverence when speaking of God or of the Scriptures ; in his power of realising the operation of something more than human, whether in his abhorrence of evil or in his admiration of goodness,—the impression on those who heard him was often as though he knew what others only believed, as though he had seen what others only talked about. ‘ No one could know him even a little,’ says one who was himself not amongst his most intimate friends, ‘ and not be struck by his absolute wrestling with evil, so that, like St. Paul, he seemed to be battling with the wicked one, and yet, with the feeling of God’s help on his side, scorning as well as hating him.’

“ Above all, it was necessary for a right understanding, not only of his religious opinions,

but of his whole character, to enter into the peculiar feeling of love and adoration which he entertained towards our Lord Jesus Christ—peculiar in the distinctness and intensity which, as it characterised almost all his common impressions, so in this case gave additional strength and meaning to those feelings with which he regarded not only His work of redemption, but Himself, as a living Friend and Master. ‘In that unknown world in which our thoughts become instantly lost,’ it was his real support and delight to remember that ‘still there is one object on which our thoughts and imaginations may fasten, no less than our affections; that amidst the light, dark from excess of brilliance, which surrounds the throne of God, we may yet discern the gracious form of the Son of man.’¹ In that consciousness which pressed upon him at times even heavily, of the difficulty of considering God in His own nature, believing as he did that ‘Providence, the Supreme Being, the Deity, and other such terms repel us to an infinite distance,’ and that the revelation of the Father, in Himself unapproachable, is to be looked upon rather as the promise of

¹ *Sermons*, iii. 90.

another life, than as the support of this, it was to him a thought of perhaps more than usual comfort to feel that 'our God' is 'Jesus Christ our Lord, the image of the invisible God,' and that 'in Him is represented all the fulness of the Godhead, until we know even as we are known.'¹ And with this full conviction both of his conscience and understanding that He of whom he spoke was 'still the self-same Jesus in all human affections and Divine excellences,' there was a vividness and tenderness in his conception of Him, on which, if one may so say, all his feelings of human affection and friendship seemed to fasten as on their natural object, bringing 'before him His actions, imaging to himself His very voice and look'—there was to him (so to speak) a greatness in the image thus formed of Him, on which all his natural instincts of reverence, all his range of historical interest, all his admiration of truth and goodness, at once centred. 'Where can we find a man so holy as that we may surrender our whole soul to it, before which obedience, reverence without measure, intense humility, most unreserved adoration, may all be duly

¹ *Sermons*, v. 222.

rendered?' was the earnest inquiry of his whole nature, intellectual and moral, no less than religious, and the answer to it in like manner expressed what he endeavoured to make the rule of his own personal conduct, and the centre of all his moral and religious convictions. 'One name there is, and one alone, one alone in heaven and earth—not truth, not justice, not benevolence, not Christ's mother, not His holiest servants, not His blessed sacraments, nor His very mystical body the Church, but Himself only who died for us and rose again, Jesus Christ, both God and man.'¹

He had by instinct large wishes as to position and usefulness. "I believe that naturally I am one of the most ambitious men alive; the three great objects of human ambition" (to which alone one could look as deserving the name) "are to be the prime minister of a great kingdom, the governor of a great empire, or the writer of works which should live in every age and in every country." But he learnt from God that the true aim is to do whatever has to be done as well as it possibly can be achieved. "I have always thought with regard to ambition

¹ *Sermons*, iv. 210.

that I should like to be *aut Cæsar aut nullus* ; and as it is pretty well settled for me that I shall not be Cæsar, I am quite content to live in peace as *nullus*."

Canon Bartholomew Price, one of his pupils at Laleham, now Master of Pembroke College, Oxford, thus describes the life of the tutor and his pupils :

" Everything about me I immediately found to be most real ; it was a place where a new-comer at once felt that a great and earnest work was going forward. Dr. Arnold's great power as a private tutor resided in this—that he gave such an intense earnestness to life. Every pupil was made to feel that there was a work for him to do—that his happiness, as well as his duty, lay in doing that work well. Hence an indescribable zest was communicated to a young man's feelings about life ; a strange joy came over him on discovering that he had the means of being useful, and thus of being happy ; and a deep respect and ardent attachment sprang up towards him who had taught him thus to value life and his own self, and his work and mission in the world. . . . Thus pupils of the most different natures were keenly stimulated ; none felt that he was left out, or that, because

he was not endowed with large powers of mind, there was no sphere open to him in the honourable pursuit of usefulness. This wonderful power of making all his pupils respect themselves, and of awakening in them a consciousness of the duties that God had assigned to them personally, and of the consequent reward each should have of his labours, was one of Arnold's most characteristic features as a trainer of youth. His hold over all his pupils, I know, perfectly astonished me. It was not so much an enthusiastic admiration for his genius, or learning, or eloquence that stirred within them; it was a sympathetic thrill, caught from a spirit that was earnestly at work in the world—whose work was healthy, sustained, and constantly carried forward in the fear of God—a work that was founded on a deep sense of its duty and its value; and was coupled with such a true humility, such an unaffected simplicity, that others could not help being invigorated by the same feeling and with the belief that they too, in their measure, could go and do likewise."

After eight happy years at Laleham, where he pursued his favourite study of history, became acquainted with Niebuhr's great work, and published a very striking, original, and

spiritual volume of sermons, he was elected Headmaster of Rugby in August 1827, on the resignation of Dr. Wooll, who had held the post for twenty-one years. The electors were the twelve Warwickshire gentlemen who formed the body of trustees. He did not send in his application and testimonials till quite late in the competition; but his recommendations were so strong that he was at once appointed. Dr. Hawkins predicted in his letter that if he were elected to the Headmastership of Rugby he would change the face of education all through the public schools of England.

The public schools were not at this time in good odour. They were considered hotbeds of vice; what was taught in them was little but classics; the religious influence was small, formal, and dry. Bullying and rough manners were universal characteristics. 'The reforming spirit had begun to investigate every national institution in turn with a view to improvement or eradication, and criticism was being turned on the public schools. Arnold came to Rugby determined to make it at all costs a place of Christian education. He relied (1) on the careful selection of his assistant-masters, for character rather than for scholarship; (2) on

trusting to the discretion, authority, and loyalty of the sixth form; (3) on putting all the boys on their honour, and believing what they told him; (4) on making Christian principle penetrate every part of the school and its teaching; (5) on widening the studies, and making the boys take an interest in his own favourite subjects, history and geography; (6) on humanising the punishments, and reserving the more brutal for brutal offences; (7) on his weekly sermons, when, after three years, he got himself appointed chaplain; (8) on masters' meetings, held every three weeks, when the affairs of the school and the characters of the boys were freely and frankly discussed; (9) on asking the parents to remove boys who were either incorrigible leaders of mischief, incurably thoughtless and idle, or overgrown and stupid, or doing no good to themselves or the school.

He met at first with great opposition, and was for years attacked and maligned in the local as well as in the London press. This opposition he himself increased by constantly taking part in the Liberal movements of that critical era, and attacking abuses wherever abuses were to be found. He went strongly for Church Reform, and the inclusion of Non-

conformists ; he wished the Christian State and the Christian Church to be synonymous, and that no infidels or Jews should have any share in national or municipal government. The whole Tory party in Church and State distrusted him, and the extreme Liberals had no sympathy with his desire that all the institutions of the country should be broadly Christian. When he discovered that he could not persuade the founders of the University of London to take this view, he sorrowfully left that body. It was not for many years that the wonderful success of his system at Rugby won for him the trust and popularity that he deserved.

This is what one of the boys afterwards wrote of his system :

“ He certainly did teach us—thank God for it!—that we could not cut our life into slices and say, ‘ In this slice your actions are indifferent, and you needn’t trouble your heads about them one way or another ; but in this slice mind what you are about, for they are important ’—a pretty muddle we should have been in had he done so. He taught us that in this wonderful world no boy or man can tell which of his actions is indifferent and

which not ; that by a thoughtless word or look we may lead astray a brother for whom Christ died. He taught us that life is a whole, made up of actions, and thoughts, and longings, great and small, noble and ignoble ; therefore the only true wisdom for boy or man is to bring the whole life into obedience to Him whose world we live in, and who has purchased us with His blood ; and that, whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do, we are to do all in His name and to His glory."

This is the prayer which he used daily with the sixth form, before the first lesson :

"O Lord, who by Thy holy Apostle hast taught us to do all things in the name of the Lord Jesus, and to Thy glory, give Thy blessing, we pray Thee, to this our daily work, that we may do it in faith and heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men. All our powers of body and mind are Thine, and we would fain devote them to Thy service. Sanctify them and the work in which they are engaged ; let us not be slothful, but fervent in spirit ; and do Thou, O Lord, so bless our efforts that they may bring forth in us the fruits of true wisdom. Strengthen the faculties

of our minds, and dispose us to exert them, but let us always remember to exert them for Thy glory, and for the furtherance of Thy kingdom; and save us from all pride and vanity, and reliance upon our own power or wisdom. Teach us to seek after truth, and enable us to gain it; but grant that we may ever speak the truth in love—that while we know earthly things, we may know Thee, and be known by Thee, through and in Thy Son Jesus Christ. Give us this day Thy Holy Spirit, that we may be Thine in body and spirit, in all our work and all our refreshments, through Jesus Christ Thy Son, our Lord. Amen.”

He could be very severe when things went wrong. “The monthly examinations, lasting ‘for one long, awful hour,’ were looked forward to with dread by boys who had been idle or careless about their work. Such a scene has been graphically described by the pen of the ‘Old Boy’ to whom we owe so many descriptive touches of Dr. Arnold at Rugby. He tells us of the boys ‘being all seated round, and the Doctor standing in the middle, talking in whispers to the master,’ then ‘of the Doctor’s under-lip coming out, and his eye beginning to

burn, and his gown getting gathered up more and more tightly in his left hand.' No doubt he had not heard a good report of the work of the form, and a boy who looked up from his book for a moment saw the Doctor's face looking so awful that he 'wouldn't have met his eye for all he was worth, and buried himself in his book again.'"

His manner with the sixth is thus described by Dean Stanley :

"The recollections of the Headmaster of Rugby are inseparable from the recollections of the personal guide and friend of his scholars. They will at once recall those little traits which, however minute in themselves, will to them suggest a lively image of his whole manner. They will remember the glance with which he looked round in the few moments of silence before the lesson began, and which seemed to speak his sense of his own position, and of theirs also, as the heads of a great school ; the attitude in which he stood turning over the pages of his book, with his eye fixed upon the boy who was pausing to give an answer ; the well-known changes of his voice and manner, so faithfully representing the feeling within ; the pleased look and the cheerful 'Thank you'

which followed upon a successful answer or translation ; the fall of his countenance, with its deepening severity, the stern elevation of the eyebrows, the sudden 'Sit down!' which followed upon the reverse ; the courtesy and almost deference to the boys, as to his equals in society, so long as there was nothing to disturb the friendliness of their relation ; the startling earnestness with which he would check in a moment the slightest approach to levity or impertinence ; the confidence with which he addressed them in his half-yearly exhortations ; the expressions of delight with which, when they had been doing well, he would say it was a constant pleasure to him to come into the library."

Here is a description of the memorable Sunday afternoons in Rugby Chapel by the sympathetic author of *Tom Brown's School Days* :

"More worthy pens than mine have described that scene. The oak pulpit standing out by itself above the school-seats ; the tall, gallant form, the kindling eyes, the voice (now soft as the low notes of a flute, now clear and stirring as the call of the light infantry bugle) of him who stood there Sunday after Sunday,

witnessing and pleading for his Lord, the King of righteousness, and love, and glory, with whose Spirit he was filled, and in whose power he spoke; the long lines of young faces, rising tier above tier down the whole length of the chapel—from the little boy's who had just left his mother to the young man's who was going out next week into the great world, rejoicing in his strength. It was a great and solemn sight, and never more so than at this time of year (November), when the only lights in the chapel were in the pulpit and at the seats of the præpostors of the week, and the soft twilight stole over the rest of the chapel, deepening into darkness in the high gallery behind the organ.

“But what was it, after all, which seized and held these three hundred boys, dragging them out of themselves, willing or unwilling, for twenty minutes, on Sunday afternoons? True, there always were boys scattered up and down the school who in heart and head were worthy to hear and able to carry away the deepest and wisest words there spoken; but these were a minority always, generally a very small one, often so small an one as to be countable on the fingers of your hand. What

was it that moved and held us, the rest of the three hundred reckless, childish boys, who feared the Doctor with all our hearts, and very little besides in heaven and earth ; who thought more of our sets in the school than of the Church of Christ, and put the traditions of Rugby and the public opinion of boys in our daily life above the laws of God ? We couldn't enter into half that we heard ; we hadn't the knowledge of our own hearts, or the knowledge of one another ; and little enough of the faith, hope, and love needed to that end. But we listened, as all boys in their better moods will listen (ay, and men too, for the matter of that), to a man whom we felt to be, with all his heart and soul and strength, striving against whatever was mean and unmanly and unrighteous in our little world. It was not the cold, clear voice of one giving advice and warning from serene heights to those who were struggling and sinning below, but the warm, living voice of one who was fighting for us and by our sides, and calling on us to help him and ourselves and one another. And so, wearily and little by little, but surely and steadily on the whole, was brought home to the young boy, for the first time, the meaning

of his life ; that it was no fool's or sluggard's paradise into which he had wandered by chance, but a battle-field ordained from of old, where there are no spectators, but the youngest must take his side, and the stakes are life and death. And he who roused this consciousness in them showed them at the same time, by every word he spoke in the pulpit and by his whole daily life, how that battle was to be fought, and stood there before them their fellow-soldier and the captain of their band. The true sort of captain, too, for a boys' army ; one who had no misgivings and gave no uncertain word of command, and, let who would yield or make truce, would fight the fight out (so every boy felt) to the last gasp and the last drop of blood. Other sides of his character might take hold of and influence boys here and there, but it was this thoroughness and undaunted courage which, more than anything else, won his way to the hearts of the great mass of those on whom he left his mark, and made them believe—first in him, and then in his Master."

This is a description of how he would help a boy who had difficulties about offering himself for Confirmation :

"Well, I just told him all about it. You

can't think how kind and gentle he was, the great grim man whom I've feared more than anybody on earth. When I stuck, he lifted me just as if I'd been a little child. And he seemed to know all I'd felt, and to have gone through it all. And I burst out crying—more than I've done this five years; and he sat down by me, and stroked my head; and I went blundering on, and told him all;] much worse things than I've told you. And he wasn't shocked a bit, and didn't snub me, or tell me I was a fool, and it was all nothing but pride or wickedness, though I daresay it was. And he didn't tell me not to follow out my thoughts, and he didn't give me any cut-and-dried explanation. But when I'd done, he just talked a bit—I can hardly remember what he said, yet; but it seemed to spread round me like healing, and strength, and light; and to bear me up, and plant me on a rock, where I could hold my footing and fight for myself. I don't know what to do, I feel so happy."

That is a description from "Tom Brown"; this is what an actual pupil wrote of him:

"I am sure that I do not exaggerate my feelings when I say that I felt a love and reverence for him as one of quite awful great-

ness and goodness, for whom I well remember that I used to think I would gladly lay down my life. . . . I used to believe that I, too, had a work to do for him in the school, and did for his sake labour to raise the tone of the set I lived in, particularly as regarded himself."

And he himself said :

"I am trying to establish something of a friendly intercourse with the sixth form by asking them, in succession, in parties of four, to dinner with us, and I have them each separately up into my room to look over their exercises."

And after speaking of his hope to rule by gentle methods, he adds :

"I have seen great boys, six feet high, shed tears when I have sent for them up into my room and spoken to them quietly, in private, for not knowing their lesson, and I have found that this treatment produced its effects afterwards in making them do better."

This is the kind of ideal he had for the teaching office :

"The qualifications which I deem essential to the due performance of a master's duties here may, in brief, be expressed as the spirit of a Christian and a gentleman ; that a man

should enter upon his business . . . as a substantive and most important duty; that he should devote himself to it as the especial branch of the ministerial calling which he has chosen to follow; that, belonging to a great public institution, and standing in a public and conspicuous situation, he should study things 'lovely and of good report'—that is, that he should be public-spirited, liberal, and entering heartily into the interest, honour, and general respectability and distinction of the society which he has joined; and that he should have sufficient vigour of mind and thirst for knowledge to persist in adding to his own stores, without neglecting the full improvement of those whom he is teaching. I think our masterships here offer a noble field of duty, and I would not bestow them on any one whom I thought would undertake them without entering into the spirit of our system heart and hand."

The following passages, written at different times, show the depth and strength of his feeling of responsibility for the moral and religious health of the boys:

August 1830.—"Last half-year I preached every Sunday in Lent, and for the last five Sundays of the half-year also, besides other

times ; and I had to write new sermons for all these, for I cannot bear to preach to the boys anything but what is quite fresh, and suggested by their particular condition. I never like preaching anywhere else so well ; for one's boys are even more than a parish, inasmuch as one knows more of them all individually than can easily be the case in a parish, and has double authority over them—temporal as well as spiritual. . . .

“It is quite awful, though, to watch the strength of evil in such young minds, and how powerless is every effort against it. It would give the vainest man alive a very fair notion of his own insufficiency to see how little he can do, and how his most earnest addresses are as a cannon-ball on a bolster ; thorough careless unimpressibleness beats one all to pieces. And so it is, and so it will be ; and as far as I am concerned, I can quite say that it is much better that it should be so ; for it would be too kindling, could one perceive these young minds really led from evil by one's own efforts ; one would be sorely tempted to bow down to one's own net. As it is, the net is so palpably ragged that one sees perforce how sorry an idol it would make.”

November 1838.—"Here, thank God, I have not suffered from failing health, but I have been much annoyed with the moral evils which have come under my notice. And then a great school is very trying. It never can present images of rest and peace; and when the spring and activity of youth is altogether unsanctified by anything pure and elevated in its desires, it becomes a spectacle that is as dizzying and almost more morally distressing than the shouts and gambols of a set of lunatics. It is very startling to see so much of sin combined with so little of sorrow. In a parish amongst the poor, whatever of sin exists, there is sure also to be enough of suffering; poverty, sickness, and old age are mighty tamers and chastisers. But with boys of the richer classes one sees nothing but plenty, health, and youth; and these are really awful to behold when one must feel that they are unblessed. On the other hand, few things are more beautiful than when one does see all holy and noble thoughts and principles, not the forced growth of pain or infirmity or privation, but springing up as by God's immediate planting, in a sort of garden of all that is fresh and beautiful; full of so much hope for this world, as well as for heaven."

In 1841 he was appointed Professor of Modern History at Oxford, a post in which he greatly delighted; but in June 1842 he was suddenly called away by the same disease which had carried off his father, *angina pectoris*. He was conscious for some hours, and his end was very touching and beautiful. Its effect is thus described by the late Judge Hughes. "Tom Brown" has hurried from Scotland to Rugby at the news, and has thrown himself on the turf in the close, half expecting to see the Doctor's private door open, and the revered figure in cap and gown come striding under the elm trees towards him:

"No, no! that sight could never be seen again. There was no flag flying on the round tower; the school-house windows were all shuttered up; and when the flag went up again, and the shutters came down, it would be to welcome a stranger. All that was left on earth of him whom he had honoured was lying cold and still under the chapel floor. He would go in and see the place once more. . . . So he got up, and walked to the chapel door and unlocked it, passed through the vestibule, and then paused for a moment to glance over the empty benches; then he walked up to the seat which he had last occupied as a sixth-form

boy, and sat himself down there to collect his thoughts.

“And, truth to tell, they needed collecting and setting in order not a little. The memories of eight years were all dancing through his brain, and carrying him about whither they would; while beneath them all his heart was throbbing with the dull sense of a loss that could never be made up to him. The rays of the evening sun came solemnly through the painted windows above his head, and fell in gorgeous colours on the opposite wall; and the perfect stillness soothed his spirit by little and little. And he turned to the pulpit, and looked at it, and then, leaning forward with his head on his hands, groaned aloud, ‘If he could only have seen the Doctor again for one five minutes—have told him all that was in his heart, what he owed to him, how he loved and revered him, and would by God’s help follow his steps in life and death—he could have borne it all without a murmur. But that he should have gone away for ever without knowing it all was too much to bear.’ ‘But am I sure that he does not know it all?’ The thought made him start. ‘May he not even now be near me, in this very chapel?’

If he be, am I sorrowing as he would have me sorrow—as I should wish to have sorrowed when I shall meet him again?’

“He raised himself up and looked round; and after a minute rose and walked humbly down to the lowest bench, and sat down on the very seat which he had occupied on his first Sunday at Rugby. And then the old memories rushed back again, but softened and subdued, and soothing him as he let himself be carried away by them. And he looked up at the great painted window above the altar, and remembered how, when a little boy, he used to try not to look through it at the elm trees and the rooks, before the painted glass came; and the subscription for the painted glass, and the letter he wrote home for money to give to it; and there, down below, was the very name of the boy who sat on his right hand on that first day, scratched rudely in the oak panelling.

“And then came the thought of all his old schoolfellows; and form after form of boys—nobler, and braver, and purer than he—rose up and seemed to rebuke him. Could he not think of them, and what they had felt and were feeling; they who had honoured and loved from the first the man whom he had

taken years to know and love? Could he not think of those yet dearer to him who were gone, who bore his name and shared his blood, and were now without a husband and father? Then the grief, which he began to share with others, became gentle and holy, and he rose up once more, and walked up the steps to the altar; and, while the tears flowed freely down his cheeks, knelt down humbly and hopefully, to lay down there his share of a burden which had proved itself too heavy for him to bear in his own strength. Here let us leave him. Where better could we leave him than at the altar before which he had first caught a glimpse of the glory of his birthright, and felt the drawing of the bond which links all living souls together in one brotherhood—at the grave beneath the altar of him who had opened his eyes to see that glory, and softened his heart till it could feel that bond?"

In 1850, eight years after Dr. Arnold's death, his successor, Dr. Tait (afterwards Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury), thus writes on leaving Rugby for the Deanery of Carlisle:

"I cannot but remember at this time who was my predecessor in the place where these sermons were preached, and what memorials

he has left of the wise and earnest spirit in which he strove to guide those whom his death left under my care. I wish to take this opportunity of testifying how great the religious work was which he had accomplished; how little remained for his successor but to labour if by any means he might maintain it. . . . Finally, for all connected with the school I can scarcely have a better prayer than that they may be enabled always to love Christ and truth and goodness with the simplicity of Dr. Arnold, and that as years advance they may grow in the power of tempering zeal with charity, and in those gradually deepening feelings of a spiritual mind which the later volumes of his sermons so remarkably unfold."

One of the most beautiful tributes of filial affection is the poem called *Rugby Chapel*, by Matthew Arnold. A few passages from those stirring lines may fitly close this sketch:

"O strong soul, by what shore
 Tarriest thou now? For that force
 Surely has not been left vain!
 Somewhere, surely, afar
 In the sounding labour-house vast
 Of being is practised that strength
 Zealous, beneficent, firm.

* * * * *

Yes, in some far shining sphere
 Still thou performest the word
 Of the spirit in whom thou dost live—
 Prompt, unwearied, as here!
 Still thou upraisest with zeal
 The humble good from the ground,
 Sternly represses the bad!
 Succourest! This was thy work,
 This was thy life upon earth.

* * * * *

And there are some whom a thirst
 Ardent, unquenchable fires—
 Not with the crowd to be spent,
 Not without aim to go round
 In an eddy of purposeless dust—
 Effort unmeaning and vain.

* * * * *

Thou wouldst not *alone*
 Be saved, my father! *alone*
 Conquer and come to thy goal,
 Leaving the rest in the wild.

* * * * *

We were weary, and we
 Fearful, and we in our march
 Fain to drop down and to die.
 Still thou turnedst, and still
 Beckonedst the trembling, and still
 Gavest the weary thy hand.
 If in the paths of the world
 Stones might have wounded thy feet,
 Toil or dejection have tried
 Thy spirit, of that we saw
 Nothing—to us thou wast still
 Cheerful, and helpful, and firm.

Therefore to thee it was given
Many to save with thyself,
And at the end of thy day,
O faithful shepherd ! to come
Bringing thy sheep in thy hand.

* * * * *

I believe that there lived
Others like thee in the past,
Fervent, heroic, and good
Helpers and friends of mankind.
Servants of God ! or sons
Shall I not call you ? because
Not as servants ye knew
Your Father's innermost mind—
His, who unwillingly sees
One of His little ones lost—
Yours is the praise, if mankind
Hath not as yet in its march
Fainted, and fallen, and died.

* * * * *

Then, in such hour of need
Of your fainting, dispirited race,
Ye like angels appear
Radiant with ardour divine !
Beacons of hope ye appear !
Languor is not in your heart !
Weakness is not in your word !
Weariness not on your brow !
Ye alight in our van ! at your voice
Pain, despair, flee away !
Ye move through the ranks, recall
The stragglers, refresh the outworn,
Praise, reinspire the brave !
Order, courage return !

Eyes rekindling and prayers
Follow your steps as ye go!
Ye fill up the gaps in our files,
Strengthen the wavering line,
Stablish, continue our march
On! to the bound of the waste!
On! to the City of God!"

XII

TAIT

THE WISE RULER

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL TAIT was born on December 21st, 1811, in Park Place, Edinburgh, now the site of the new University buildings. His father, Crauford Tait, Writer to the Signet, and afterwards Sheriff, belonged to an estimable family of "bonnet lairds," the Taites of Ludquharn, in Aberdeenshire. Crauford's father, John, had been Episcopalian, but was brought over by his wife to the Established Church of Scotland. Crauford married Susan, daughter of Sir Ilay Campbell, Lord President of the Court of Session, who held the highest judicial office in Scotland.

Archie was born club-footed, and his good and gentle mother died suddenly when he was three years old. His health needed the greatest care, and this was ably given by an experi-

enced old Scottish nurse, of kind heart, strict discipline, and rigid principles, named Betty Morton. When he was seven, his eldest married sister, Susan, Lady Sitwell, of Renishaw, Derbyshire, insisted that he and an elder brother, Campbell, who had a shrunk leg, should be sent with Betty Morton to Whitworth, near Rochdale, in Lancashire, to be treated by a noted bone-setter, named Taylor. Both boys were perfectly cured.

In October 1821 Archie was admitted to the celebrated High School of Edinburgh, which was under Dr. Carson, with seven hundred boys. Here his progress was remarkably rapid. In 1824 his father removed him to the Edinburgh Academy, then newly founded for the promotion of classical education in Scotland. The first headmaster was the famous scholar John Williams, afterwards Archdeacon of Cardigan. Archie proved a brilliant and successful pupil; on Exhibition Day, 1827, Lord Cockburn, who gave away the prizes, concluded his address of congratulation to him as Dux, and winner of six of the foremost competitions, by the words, "Go forth, young man, and remember that wherever you go the eyes of your country are upon you."

That year Tait matriculated in the University of Glasgow. The principal was Dr. Macfarlane, the leading professor (Greek) was Daniel Sandford, and there were about twelve hundred students. Of Sandford, Tait said : "He possessed in a wonderful degree the power of quickening into life the latent intellect of his pupils. That he inspired and kept alive the spirit of absolute enthusiasm which stimulated a class of three hundred not very clever lads to press forward in their studies, as in a race, is no slight evidence of the ability and character of the man. To him and to Archdeacon Williams I owe more than to any other teachers." Betty Morton took charge of Tait's lodgings near the Old College, and was firm in repelling friends who wished to intrude on hours of study.

His father, whose financial affairs were in a state of great difficulty, wrote him numerous acute and interesting letters of instruction and advice, encouraging him in the habit of writing a journal, in which the Archbishop found great advantage throughout his life. The neighbourhood of Garscube, the family place of his uncle, Sir Archibald Campbell, gave an agreeable variety to the life of the hard-working student ;

Sir Archibald was hospitable to the college professors and the best college society. After a brilliant career at Glasgow, the professors finally elected him as one of the exhibitors from Glasgow to Balliol College, Oxford, on the foundation of John Snell, of the date 1679.

From a certain seriousness of demeanour even from childhood, from the age of six Tait was called in the family "The little bishop"; but he was first brought back to the Episcopalian creed of his grandfather, John Tait, by his cousin, Ramsay Campbell, of Garscube, son of Sir Archibald, one of the companions of his boyhood in Edinburgh, with whom he attended St. John's Episcopal Church, at the end of Prince's Street, then under the pastorate of Bishop Sandford. Writing in 1879, the Archbishop thus refers to his first strong conviction of faith: "The earliest recollection I have of a deep religious impression made on my mind has often since recurred to me with a vividness of having heard a voice from above. I suppose I must have been some ten or twelve years old. I had ridden over with my brother Crauford from Harviestoun" (their country home) "to Glendevon, to visit old Miss Rutherford, and stayed the night in her

house. I distinctly remember, in the middle of the night, awaking with a deep impression on my mind of the reality and nearness of the world unseen, such as, through God's mercy, has never since left me. I have fallen into many sins of omission and commission ; I have had many evil desires, and have gratified them ; but this sense of the reality of the world unseen has remained with me through God's mercy. What the value of the impression was it is difficult to say ; but that it was made by God the Holy Ghost working on my soul I have no doubt. O Lord, give me grace to preserve it to the end ; and may that guiding and guarding Spirit of holiness and purity, from whom I believe it came, ever be with me, to give me an unfeigned repentance for the sins which have defaced the holy image of God in my soul, and worked on my natural corruption, leading me into evil ! O Lord, keep me to the end, washing me in Christ's blood, and making me fit for that glorious and holy presence which at that early age I faintly realised !"

As soon as his residence at Balliol began, Tait applied to his tutor, Mr. Moberly (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury) as a candidate for

Confirmation, and, after being duly prepared, received the laying on of hands from the Bishop of Oxford. He had not been a month in the college before he won the Balliol scholarship, the greatest distinction open to new-comers. Even in these early days his character stood so high, his ability and good sense were so marked, and his habits were so serious and grave, that "at least a score of references" to the probability of his becoming Archbishop of Canterbury "might be culled from the correspondence of his early years, and from the recollections of his friends." It became a sort of recognised quiet pleasantry, a familiar touch of dry humour, in the home circle. "On his first visit to London he came in one evening from a walk. 'Where have you been to, Archie?' he was asked. 'Walking through Lambeth,' he replied. 'Through Lambeth!' was the astonished answer; 'why, whatever possessed you to walk in Lambeth?' 'Well, I wanted to see how I shall like the place when I get there.'" A few years later, after the burning of the Houses of Parliament, one of his friends wrote to him (October 21st. 1834): "I was seriously alarmed that I should have had to communicate to you the intelli-

gence that your palace at Lambeth was burned to the ground. It gives me great pleasure, however, to be able to state that the only serious loss that you have incurred consists in the total destruction by fire of the Bishops' Bench in the House of Lords." And when Tait and some friends were on a reading-party in 1833 at Seaton, in Devonshire, a local Nonconformist minister, describing them each in a poem, wrote :

"And if Lavater rightly has defined,
From sign external, features of the mind,
He whom near yonder cliff we see recline
A mitred prelate may hereafter shine ;
That youth who seems exploring nature's laws
An ermined judge may win deserved applause."

The one was Tait, the other Roundell Palmer.

In 1832 Tait was inexpressibly grieved by the sudden death of his father, with whom he had always been on terms of most affectionate and intimate friendship. In 1833 he obtained a first class in Classics, a few months after Keble had begun the Tractarian movement by his Assize Sermon, and returned to Edinburgh, where he attended the deathbed of the faithful old nurse Betty Morton. "Grant," he wrote in his diary twelve years later, "that

no length of years may make me forget what I owe to Thee for having given me in infancy and childhood, when motherless and helpless, so good and kind a friend."

After taking pupils, travelling abroad with his friend Oakeley (afterwards the Roman Catholic Canon), and other congenial pursuits, he was elected Fellow of Balliol in 1834, the same day as William George Ward, the eccentric Tractarian, and subsequently Roman Catholic Professor. "Do I feel sufficiently the weighty responsibility which has devolved on me, to use my utmost exertions that the increased means placed in my hands may be made subservient in all things to God's glory, the good of my fellow-men and of my own soul? O God, do Thou enable me to keep these things more in view! . . . I have now not even the poor excuse of being forced to spend so much of my time in worldly concerns. Henceforward my worldly business, as well as my Christian duty, is God's service."

In 1835 he succeeded to Moberly's tutorship at Balliol. Of older pupils he had Arthur Stanley, James Lonsdale, and Wickens (afterwards Vice-Chancellor); of younger, Waldegrave (afterwards Bishop of Carlisle), Goulburn

(afterwards Dean of Norwich), Lake (Dean of Durham), Sir Benjamin Brodie, Jowett, and Hugh Pearson (Canon of Windsor).

On Trinity Sunday 1836 he was ordained deacon by Bishop Bagot, of Oxford, the sermon being preached by his beloved friend Oakeley. "To-morrow will see me an ordained minister of Christ, bound to labour in season and out of season for the good of souls. O God, give me strength, by Thy grace, never for one instant to lose sight of my spiritual duties to my pupils! Some of them are more fitted to teach me in heavenly things than I to teach them. . . . I must live more a life of prayer. I must pray for them. . . . I rejoice in the prospect that to-morrow I shall be authorised, bound, to teach and exhort. I trust there is no presumption in saying that my dedication to the ministry is prompted by the Holy Ghost. O God, give me a greater measure of Thy Spirit; enable me to labour in Thy service, giving myself wholly to it!" For five years he was also the earnest and devoted curate of Baldon, five miles from Oxford.

In 1838 his friends tried much to persuade him to stand first for the Chair of Moral Philosophy, and then for that of Greek, at the

University of Glasgow. Many Episcopalians had held such professorships; all that was required of them was subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith. Though strongly pressed, Tait remained firm, and withdrew from the contest.

In 1839 he spent three months at the University of Bonn, becoming intimately acquainted with the German language, literature, and professors. About this time he began to take a spiritual charge of the college servants—an effort thus recorded: “I have spent much of this day in prayer, though I fear it has come too little from the heart. I have begun to-day a most important work in the teaching of the boys amongst the college servants. O God, send Thy blessing on this endeavour. Above all, lead my own heart right, or how can I teach others? Lord, I thank Thee that Thou hast smoothed the way for carrying out this plan for the college servants. . . . Grant Thy Spirit to teacher and taught, that it may not all end in dead formality.”

Principal Shairp thus describes his power as a college tutor: “He was by far the most influential of the then Balliol tutors. . . . He was the Master’s Prime Minister, on whom he

leant, to whom he looked for advice and support with absolute confidence. . . . The other tutors all felt there was in Tait a manliness and sense and a weight of character to which they could not but defer. The undergraduates all respected and liked him. They felt there was no getting round him. His shrewdness, his dry and not unkindly humour, were too much for them ; and if any one, more forward than the rest, tried to cross swords with him, he had in his calm presence of mind an impregnable defence."

His attitude to the Tractarian movement was defined in 1838 in a letter about the Glasgow professorship : " There is a party in this University who have become somewhat famous of late (*vide* the last *Edinburgh Review*), persons who hold extremely High Church doctrines about episcopal authority, and who regard the Kirk of Scotland as the synagogue of Baal. With these it would be peculiarly hard if I were at all identified on the present occasion, as I have spent my breath and influence for a long time back in protesting against their (what I conceive to be) most dangerous and superstitious opinions." And Principal Shairp wrote : " His Scotch nature and education, his Whig principles, and, I may add, the evangelical

views he had imbibed, were wholly antipathetic to this movement; so entirely antipathetic that I do not think he ever, from first to last, caught a glimpse of the irresistible attraction it had for younger and more ardent natures, or of the charm which encircled the leaders of it, especially the character of John Henry Newman. To his downright common sense the whole movement seemed nonsense, or at least the madness of incipient Popery. Evening by evening, in Balliol common-room, he held strenuous debate with Ward, who was a champion of the new opinions. To Tait's stout reassertion of the old Protestant fundamentals, momentum was added by his high personal character and the respect in which he was universally held."

Tait's view was accurate. "There was about this time a considerable accession to the ranks of the party of men with directly Romish sympathies. . . . Mr. Ward's party commenced its action with a new and startling programme. . . . Rome was directly looked on by them as in many respects the practical model; the Reformation was a deadly sin; restoration to the Papal communion the ideal—even if unattainable—aim" (*Ward and the Oxford Movement*).

In February 1841 the celebrated Tract XC. was published by Newman, with the view of enabling his followers to hold the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England in a Rome-ward sense. A calm and strong protest was issued by Tait, in conjunction with three other tutors—Churton of Brasenose, Wilson of St. John's, and Griffiths of Wadham. The result was that the Hebdomadal Board resolved "that modes of interpretation, such as are suggested in the said tract, evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors which they were designed to counteract, defeat the object, and are inconsistent with the due observance of the above-mentioned statutes." The Bishop of Oxford recommended that the series should be discontinued, and the Tracts came to an end.

This is Tait's view of Newman's character: "I have always regarded him as having a strange duality of mind: on the one side is a wonderfully strong and subtle reasoning faculty, on the other a blind faith, raised almost entirely by his emotions. It seems to me that in all matters of belief he first acts on his emotions, and then he brings the subtlety of his reason

to bear, till he has ingeniously persuaded himself that he is logically right. The result is a condition in which he is practically unable to distinguish between truth and falsehood."

Arnold of Rugby died on Sunday, June 12th, 1842. Ten days later Tait, impelled by Lake (afterwards Dean of Durham) and Stanley, declared himself a candidate for the vacant headmastership. "O Lord," he wrote in his diary, "I have this day taken a step which may lead to much good or much evil. Do Thou suffer me to succeed only if it be to the good of my own soul and to Thy glory."

He heard of his election—out of eighteen candidates, Dr. Vaughan being the closest competitor—on July 29th. "This day my election at Rugby has dissolved my connection with Balliol. O Lord, when I look back on the seven and a half years that have passed since I was elected Fellow, what mercies have I to thank Thee for! Yet how little have I improved! God be merciful to me, a miserable sinner! . . . When entering on this new situation, let no worldly thoughts deceive me. The sudden death of him whom I succeed should be enough to prevent this. Grant me, Lord, to live each day as I would wish to die. Let me view this

event not as success, but as the opening up of a fresh field of labour in Thy vineyard. Now I may look forward to dedicate my whole life to one object—the grand work of Christian education. Let me never forget that the first requisite for this is to be a true Christian myself. Give me a holy heart; give me boldness and firmness in Thy service; give me unfailing perseverance; banish all indolence; give me freedom from worldly ambition. O Lord, I have much labour before me—much to do of a secular character: grant that this may never draw me from regular habits of devotion, without which the Christian life cannot be preserved within me.”

Of his eight years at Rugby, Dean Bradley says: “His sermons were very earnest and devout. No one could sneer at them; no one did, I think. They were sometimes really impressive. More than this I can hardly say. But I feel sure that he exercised a great deal of religious influence on the school. . . . He was very hospitable, and fond of society; and I often dined there, and met various people from the outer world. I remember Cotton summing up his position by applying to him Tertullus’ words to Felix: ‘Seeing that by

thee we enjoy great quietness, and that many worthy deeds are done unto this nation by thy providence.' . . . When the Deanery of Carlisle came in 1849, then I think every one felt what a loss he would be, and the feeling of the boys especially rose to enthusiasm. He left in the middle of the year 1850, and the carriage was drawn down by the boys, and there was the greatest possible excitement."

In 1843 he was married to Catherine, youngest daughter of Archdeacon Spooner, Vicar of Elmdon. Originally an Evangelical, she had become an enthusiastic votary of the Oxford movement. "She could scarcely bear," wrote Archbishop Tait after her death, "that it should be opposed and spoken against. She has often told me how, when she heard that one of the four protesting tutors who helped to bring to a sudden close the series of the Oxford Tracts was a candidate for the headmastership of Rugby, she earnestly hoped he would not be successful. . . . It was a strange turn of fate which made her open her heart next year to the very candidate whose success she had deprecated, and become the happy partner of his life at Rugby, Carlisle, Fulham, Lambeth; sharing in all his deepest and truest interests;

helping forward for thirty-five years every good work which he was called to promote; united to him in the truest fellowship of soul; while still tempering, by the association of her early Oxford bias, whatever might otherwise have been harsh in his judgments of the good men from whom on principle he differed."

In 1848 he had a severe and dangerous illness, an attack of rheumatic fever, of which he nearly died, and which impaired his health for the rest of his life. The retirement to the Deanery of Carlisle was, from this cause, not unwelcome. At Carlisle his health returned, though he was never again robust, and the action of his heart was always irregular. Besides reforms in the cathedral, he was summoned in 1850 by Lord John Russell to take part in a Royal Commission to examine into the state of the Universities. His fellow-commissioners were Hinds, Bishop of Norwich; Jeune, Master of Pembroke (Bishop of Peterborough); Liddell, Headmaster of Westminster (Dean of Christ Church); Professor Baden Powell; Mr. J. L. Dampier; and the Rev. G. H. S. Johnson (Dean of Wells); with Stanley (Dean of Westminster) as secretary, and Goldwin Smith as assistant. After encountering much opposition,

they issued their report on April 27th, 1852. Their recommendations were chiefly these: revival of the House of Congregation (the teaching staff of the University) as the governing body; the reconstruction and re-endowment of the professorial system, with the creation of a new body of lecturers; the relaxation of the obligation of all Fellows to take Orders; permission to Fellows to marry when engaged in University work; the removal of social distinctions amongst undergraduates; the opening of most local scholarships; the admission of unattached students; and the relaxation of terms of subscription. The report was written by Stanley, and largely influenced by Tait, who was greatly congratulated on the result.

His tenure of the Deanery of Carlisle was very busy, as it included the transfer of the cathedral estates to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the rebuilding of the dilapidated fabric. On the death of Bishop Percy in 1856, his Liberal friends recommended him for the See of Carlisle; but Lord Palmerston, under the influence of Lord Shaftesbury, nominated Montagu Villiers, Rector of Bloomsbury. Tait's diary breathes the admirable and self-renouncing spirit in which all matters of personal advance-

ment must be met by the minister of Christ. Indeed, throughout his life the diary is a most touching model of earnest, devout Christian life. The same year saw the devastation of the deanery by scarlet fever. In the course of a month five little daughters were carried off. "I have not had the heart," says the diary of May 8th, "to make any entry in my journal now for about nine weeks. When last I wrote, I had six daughters on earth; now I have one, an infant. O God, Thou hast dealt very mysteriously with us. We have been passing through deep waters: our feet were well-nigh gone. But though Thou slay us, yet will we trust in Thee. . . . They are gone from us, all but my beloved Crauford and the babe. Thou hast reclaimed the lent jewels. Yet, O Lord, shall I not thank Thee now? I will thank Thee not only for the children Thou hast left to us, but for those Thou hast reclaimed. I thank Thee for the blessing of the last ten years, and for all the sweet memories of their little lives—memories how fragrant with every blissful, happy thought!"

In September of the same year Lord Palmerston nominated him for the See of London, vacant by the resignation of the famous Bishop

Blomfield. "I am now (11 a.m.) about to take an hour of prayer. The subjects on which to pray are these: that I may not act rashly, seeing that I have no doubt of accepting the offer—that I may have the grace of the Holy Spirit of God abundantly poured down upon me during my time of holding this office—that I may be kept from worldliness in every form—that I may have a single eye to the glory of God and the good of His Church—that I may have such health as is requisite for so great a post. O Lord, grant that Thy Church may take no injury through my fault! Give me vigilance over myself first, next over others. Enable me to arrange my days and all my time, so as to have ample time for prayer and the study of Thy Word. Give me wisdom—give me holiness—give me strength of mind and body—give me kind consideration for the feelings of all around me—give me boldness—give me decision. This is certainly not the post which I should have ever dreamed of for myself. The preparation which Thou hast given me for it has been deep affliction. May the memory of these afflictions help to sanctify my heart! . . . May I undertake this office in the spirit of a missionary!" (*Diary*).

On November 23rd, 1856, he was consecrated with Cotterill (a senior wrangler, appointed to Grahamstown) in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, by Archbishop Sumner, assisted by Bishops Gilbert, Jackson, and Villiers, his old friend and colleague Cotton (afterwards Bishop of Calcutta) preaching the sermon.

The troubles about unauthorised changes in ritual, which lasted throughout his life, began at once. The *St. Paul's, Knightsbridge*, case (*Westerton v. Liddell*) he inherited from Bishop Blomfield. Judgment was delivered by Lord Kingsdown, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London concurring. It forbade a stone altar, an altar cross, and certain embroidered altar linen; and allowed coloured frontals, a credence table, and crosses as architectural ornaments. The Bishop preserved friendly relations with Mr. Liddell, and preached in his church. A correspondence with Mr. Stuart, of *St. Mary Magdalene, Munster Square*, who refused to desist from lighting candles on the holy table, in spite of the clear declaration of the law, indicates the Bishop's wise and fatherly tone, and personal courtesy and kindness. From Mr. Poole, a curate of *St. Paul's, Knights-*

bridge, he felt compelled to withdraw his licence, for adopting a Romeward view and practice of confession. His view on the subject he gave in his first charge: "If any clergyman so preaches to his people as to lead them to suppose that the authorised way of a sinner's reconciliation with God is through confession to a priest, and by receiving priestly absolution; if he leads them to believe . . . that our Church has hitherto been much to blame for not leading her people more habitually to private auricular confession; if he thus stirs up the imagination of ardent and confiding spirits to have recourse to him as a mediator between their souls and God; and when they come to seek his aid, receives them with all the elaborate preparation which is so likely unduly to excite their feelings, and for which there is no authority in the Church's rules of worship—taking them into the vestry of his church, securing the door, putting on the sacred vestments, causing them to kneel before the cross, to address him as their ghostly father, asking a string of questions as to sins of deed, word, and thought, and imposing penance before he confers absolution: the man who thus acts, or—even if some of those

particular circumstances are wanting—of whose general practice this is no exaggerated picture, is, in my judgment, unfaithful to the whole spirit of the Church of which he is a minister.”

The story of the riots at St. George's-in-the-East against the changes introduced by Mr. Bryan King illustrates the Bishop's charity and patience. Finally, Mr. King retired abroad, the Bishop undertook at his own cost to provide for the charge of the parish, and harmony returned. The Bishop received an address signed by two thousand one hundred and seventy-six of the parishioners, including churchwardens, overseers, guardians, vestrymen, and every resident lawyer and doctor but one. They desired to convey “our deep sense of the obligation we are under for the restoration of peace to this long-distracted parish through your lordship's instrumentality.”

In all evangelistic work he took a prominent lead. Within a few days of his consecration he presided at a great meeting at Islington for building twelve new churches. He encouraged the Young Men's Christian Association, preached constantly in the open air, sanctioned mission services on Sunday in Exeter Hall and the

theatres, prevailed on the Deans of St. Paul's and Westminster to hold popular services in the Cathedral and the Abbey on Sunday evenings, and fostered every religious effort for the conversion of souls. His first charge took nearly five hours in delivery, was listened to with unbroken attention by over a thousand clergy, and received the notices and comments of the Press for several weeks.

In 1860 appeared *Essays and Reviews*. Dr. Temple's paper on the Education of the World was one of much truth and beauty, but he became necessarily mixed up with the other writers, some of whom startled the whole Church by their heterodoxy. The storm raged with great vehemence; and next year the Bishops put out an address in which they said: "We cannot understand how these opinions can be held consistently with an honest subscription to the formularies of our Church, with many of the fundamental doctrines of which they appear to us essentially at variance." Dr. Temple and Jowett had previously visited Tait at Fulham, and had gathered from him that he saw little to dislike in their essays. They would not, however, dissociate themselves from the other writers;

and it was the partnership with unsound views that Tait viewed with distrust. When the wholesale condemnation of the book appeared, with Tait's name appended, and without any discrimination between the articles such as he had made in private, Dr. Temple was exceedingly hurt, and a long correspondence ensued. Dr. Temple protested against such a condemnation by the united Bench without any hearing from the men condemned. Subsequently, in a debate in Convocation, Tait defended Temple's essay: "It is totally different in character from other passages which occur in this volume." The two men were placed by circumstances in a position of great difficulty, the one by his chivalrous refusal to throw over the essayists in whose company he had appeared, the other by his desire to act with the united episcopate in allaying public agitation. In the end, when Dr. Temple became Bishop of Exeter, he dissociated himself from opinions with which he was not in agreement. Two of the essayists, Williams and Wilson, were subsequently prosecuted, and acquitted by the Privy Council, Tait concurring that the charges were "not proved." The excitement was intense: addresses were presented to the Arch-

bishop signed by twelve thousand of the clergy and a hundred and thirty-seven thousand laymen. Tait held his own way calmly, and the trouble has long ago died away.

Similar excitement arose over the case of Bishop Colenso, who dealt with great freedom with the historical statements of the Old Testament. He was excommunicated by his metropolitan, Bishop Gray, of Capetown. Bishop Temple, with great courage, dissuaded Convocation from joining in this excommunication. He dreaded the establishment of an ecclesiastical tyranny unsuited to the conditions of modern thought and life. Speaking of Bishop Gray, he said: "I consider him to hold very strong opinions on one side, differing from myself and more than one-half the Bishops of the Church of England. He is fully entitled to hold these opinions; but I think there is this fault in his character—that he is not content with merely holding these opinions, but that he wishes to make every other person hold them too. And therefore I do not wish to endow him with anything like absolute authority over the Church in the colony in which he presides." Changes in ecclesiastical currents are very surprising. The critical attitude of Bishop Colenso with

regard to the Old Testament is now shared by a large and increasing number of Dr. Pusey's own followers.

The controversy had shown the relations between the Church of England and the Colonial Churches to be confused and undefined. Bishop Tait asked Archbishop Longley to send a circular letter to the Colonial Bishops, asking their opinions on these relations. The Archbishop and his adviser, Bishop Wilberforce, of Oxford, thought such an inquiry unnecessary ; so Bishop Tait issued one himself. The points to which the questions referred were : canonical obedience to the See of Canterbury ; appeal to some authority in England from the decision of Colonial Church courts ; the royal supremacy ; and unity of doctrine in the scattered branches of the English communion. This led to the first Lambeth Conference of Bishops, which took place in 1867. The action of Bishop Tait and others restrained the impulsive Bishop of Capetown, and secured, for a long time to come, the close connection between the Colonial Churches and the Church of England.

The Ritual question continued to disturb the Church. There were long debates in Convocation, both Houses of Canterbury finally

agreeing, on February 13th, 1867, that no innovations should be introduced without the consent of the Bishop. The matter was frequently discussed in Parliament, and a Royal Commission was promised. Lord Shaftesbury brought a Bill into the House of Lords to eliminate the eucharistic vestments, but it was thrown out by sixty-one votes to forty-six. The report of the Commission expressed the opinion that "it is expedient to restrain, in the public services of the United Church of England and Ireland, all variations in respect of vesture from that which has long been the established usage of the said United Church; and we think that this may best be secured by providing aggrieved parishioners with an easy and effectual process for complaint and redress." In discussing this report, Bishop Tait illustrated his own practice: "For my own part I think I may say that I have always endeavoured to act in a large and kindly spirit towards those who are advocates of these practices. I desire that my own conscience shall be respected, and I desire also that the consciences of others shall be respected; and whether in matters of doctrine, or in allowable matters of practice, I think that within due limits in the National Church we ought, as

carefully as we possibly can, to act upon that principle. I certainly have had very kindly intercourse during the time of my episcopate with persons of almost every shade of opinion in my diocese, and I believe that if any blame is to be attached to me in these matters it is rather the blame of having allowed people to act for themselves than of having interfered, where I might have been expected to interfere, to restrain and curb their liberty." This would be abundantly shown by the account of his patient dealing with All Saints', Margaret Street ; St. Alban's, Holborn ; St. Peter's, London Docks ; St. Matthias', Stoke Newington ; and St. Michael's, Shoreditch.

In a letter to the clergy he said : "Certain persons have taken upon themselves so to alter the whole external appearance of the celebration of the Lord's Supper as to make it scarcely distinguishable from the Roman Mass, and they endeavour on all occasions to introduce into the other services some change of vestment or ornament quiet alien to the established English usage of three hundred years. . . . The number of those who are so committed is, I am confident, very small. The Church of England from the Reformation has allowed great liberty as to the

doctrine of the sacraments ; and though I fear it cannot be denied that a few are engaged in a conspiracy to bring back our Church to the state in which it was before the Reformation, I fully believe that most of those who advocate what we deem an excessive ritual would indignantly deny that they had any such purpose."

The establishment of one of Bishop Tait's greatest works, the Bishop of London's Fund, arose from the charge of 1862. The population of London, as he pointed out, was annually increased by about forty thousand souls, and all the efforts which had been made were inadequate to overtake these steadily advancing needs. Between 1851 and 1861 sixty-six permanent and twenty-one temporary churches had been opened, providing accommodation for about one-sixth of the increased population.

"The appalling fact accordingly transpires," said Bishop Tait, "that, whatever were our spiritual wants in this respect in 1851, all our great exertions have not lessened them, but have at best prevented the evil from growing worse."

He pointed out that there were three parishes in the diocese with a population of more than thirty thousand, and only a single church ;

eleven parishes with more than twenty thousand for one church ; fourteen with more than fifteen thousand.

“Let it not be supposed,” he said, “that I am speaking as if the sole way to remedy the social evils of an overwhelming population, and propagate true religion, was to multiply churches, or even clergymen. We well know that neither the buildings nor the men will avail without the mighty Spirit of God. We are not insensible to self-denying labours of Dissenters and Roman Catholics, and we grant the value of many other appliances for promoting Christian civilisation used by our own Church. Yet are we deeply convinced that our own parochial system, carrying with it, besides churches and clergy, schools and a hundred arrangements of charity and philanthropy, gives the best hope of aiding our people for time and for eternity. It is difficult to conceive what a city of between two and three millions of inhabitants must become if it be not broken up into manageable districts, each placed under the superintendence of men whose mission it is to labour in every way for the social and religious improvement of the people.”

In 1866, after delivering another very weighty charge, and working with heroic labour at the head of his clergy at the time of the epidemic of cholera, he was suddenly struck down by an almost fatal illness on September 24th, and not allowed to return to Fulham till January next year.

On November 13th, 1868, he received the offer of the Primacy. He thus notes the last day of the year:

"FULHAM, *December 31st, 11.30 p.m.*—I have seen the sun of 1868 go down over the Thames, as I have watched the last sun of many years back. . . . Year has succeeded year, and time has healed our wounds, and Crauford has become a man, and Edith and Agnes have been added to our family, and much happiness has, by God's mercy, been ours in this home. And now we have come to the end of our connection with Fulham, and before long we shall, for the short remainder of our life, be launched on a new home. O Lord, forgive my many shortcomings for the past! Oh, strengthen me for the time to come! Yesterday, as my last act, I published my letter to Mr. Mackonochie. I trust it may do good. Grant, Lord, that all good

men may be united in mutual forbearance, and work each according to his own way in saving souls, but avoiding foolish contentions from mere obstinacy, whereby the Church of Christ is rent asunder. O Lord, this year will close in a few minutes; we shall hear the bells from many spires announcing its death. Raise us to hopes of a bright immortality with Thee for ever. Amen."

His fourteen years as Archbishop of Canterbury were memorable for many and serious troubles, through which he guided the Church of England with consummate wisdom. There is no doubt that his action greatly mitigated the treatment of the Irish Church in the calamity of Disestablishment. Other events were his own prostration by another still more serious illness; the Revisers' Communion at Westminster Abbey, when Dr. Vance Smith, a Unitarian, was allowed to participate; the Voysey prosecution; the Purchas judgment; plans of Church reform, and the reconstitution of the Court of Final Appeal; the controversy on the Athanasian Creed; the agitation about "The Priest in Absolution"; the Public Worship regulation Act; the Ritual cases of Folkestone, Hatcham, Wolverhampton, and Bordesley;

the Croydon Church Congress; the Ridsdale judgment; the question of canonical obedience to the See of Canterbury in the case of colonial bishoprics with regard to the homogeneousness of the English communion; the Burials controversy; the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission; Mr. Green's imprisonment; the renewal of the Mackonochie case. In all these grave and important matters the Archbishop's kindly and gracious wisdom, strong sense of humour, firmness of character, width of sympathy, humble and devout faith, and loyalty to the teaching of the Bible and to the principles of the Reformation were invaluable to the Church. The Public Worship Regulation Act was his least successful enterprise; but it should be remembered that he and Archbishop Thomson were but following out the strong recommendation of the Ritual Commission, and that the measure was greatly altered from what he had originally proposed.

His end came very gradually. He left Lambeth in July 1882 with a foreboding that he would never return. One of his last public acts was the confirmation of the sons of the Prince of Wales at Osborne. After a long and peaceful illness his strength gradually ebbed

away, and he died on Advent Sunday. His youngest daughter (since dead) thus wrote of that closing time :

“After that Sunday evening service, in which he bid us pray for him in the village church, we had three more months of quiet watching and waiting : watching and waiting first with a hope that, though slowly, he was surely gaining ground, and would, in God’s love, be with us some time more, doing more work here for Him : watching and waiting afterwards for the day and hour of the home-going, as the work here was done, well done, and finished in God’s love. How thankful we all are for those months ! It was a quiet, happy time, in spite of the anxiety and need of patience both for him and us. . . . They will be a help to us all our life, I think, those quiet watchings : such a feeling of peace, of finished work, and of waiting for the Master’s call to go home. We always feel as if we had spent that time like the pilgrims in the land of Beulah, waiting for the messenger and the crossing of the river, and he was like Mr. Standfast, for ‘the day he was to cross there was a great calm at that time in the river,’ and the river was so quiet and so shallow that ‘he stood a long

time in the water talking to those who had come with him to the water's edge.' ”

At the meeting at the Mansion House for securing a fitting memorial of this wise and great ruler, the Duke of Albany said :

“ I am glad that this scheme is brought forward in a place and before an audience which imply that the memorial is, in the fullest sense of the word, a national one. For the desire to do honour to the late Primate is not confined to his own clergy, or even to his own Church, but is shared by the public in general —by all, I may say, who feel admiration for a high-minded dignitary, or respect for an indefatigable worker, or love for a good man. Archbishop Tait was all these ; and English history, which records so many heroes of duty, can scarcely point to a purer instance of the single-mindedness which forgets self in great public objects, or of the conscientiousness which makes a man refuse, under any pressure of temptation or weariness, to do less than his utmost, or to be less than his best. . . . [It is well] to perpetuate the memory of an Archbishop whose aim it ever was to merge his personality in his office, who will be remembered, not so much for individual traits or marked

originality, as for the manner in which he identified himself with his exalted functions, so that the national ideal of an Archbishop of Canterbury is likely, for many a generation, to be unconsciously moulded on the character of Dr. Tait. . . . It was his effort to remain among conflicting schools of thought as the central exponent of the spiritual side of our national life; to represent, not any passing phase of opinion, but that tolerant and manly seriousness which lies at the root of our national greatness. . . . We must be thankful that in England, amidst all our speculative differences of opinion, we have so little of that fierce antagonism which rages in some other countries—that false opposition between reason and reverence—as though in this world of awful mysteries a spirit of arrogant irreverence were not the very maddest unreason. That we are spared such conflicts is largely due to such leaders as our late Primate. . . . He has passed from our bodily sight. He has gone, to use his own words, ‘to fuller light and larger liberty.’ But we are met to-day to show that, though he is no longer visibly present with us, his spirit is felt in our midst more powerfully, perhaps, than ever before. We are

met to show that England is not the less ready to honour her worthiest heroes, because it has never occurred to them to imagine that they have achieved any special claim to honour by doing what was no more than their duty."

An admirable biography of him has been written by his chaplain, Canon Benham, and his son-in-law, Dr. Davidson, Dean of Windsor, and now Bishop of Winchester; and Dean Vaughan wrote for his monument in Canterbury Cathedral this epitaph:

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JUST, DISCERNING, DIGNIFIED, STATESMANLIKE,
WISE TO KNOW THE TIME AND RESOLUTE TO REDEEM IT.
HE HAD ONE AIM:
TO MAKE THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND MORE AND MORE
THE CHURCH OF THE PEOPLE:
DRAWING TOWARDS IT BOTH BY WORD AND GOOD EXAMPLE
ALL WHO LOVE THINGS TRUE AND PURE,
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